

Those of My Blood

Constructing Noble Families in Medieval Francia

Constance Brittain Bouchard



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Constructing Noble Families in Medieval Francia

CONSTANCE BRITTAIN BOUCHARD

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Preface

“THOSE OF MY BLOOD,” *consanguinei mei*, so medieval nobles spoke of the people we would call their family members. For those who ruled society and whose way of life became the model that others would have liked to emulate, the family was the crucial social unit, made up of those from whom property and authority were inherited and to whom it passed. Yet one’s family also contained one’s principal rivals. An understanding of medieval noble family structure is thus crucial for modern scholars, yet the term “family” had a very different meaning to the aristocrats of the early and high Middle Ages than it does at the beginning of the twenty-first century, and the ways in which medieval men and women conceptualized and structured what we would call their families changed markedly over time.

This book focuses on how medieval nobles “constructed” their families between the eighth and the twelfth centuries, focusing on the old Frankish realm (France and to a lesser extent Germany). It builds on but also goes well beyond ideas I originally developed over the past twenty-five years, on the nature of medieval family structure and family consciousness. In preparing the present volume I have returned to the sources to create a continuous narrative, rather than merely compiling a collection of articles. This process included an incorporation of the recent historiography, some of which was written in response to my own earlier articles. There is also material which is entirely new, such as the chapter on the counts of Autun, an important but little-understood lineage of the ninth and tenth centuries. To keep the number of footnotes manageable, I have pared the apparatus of much of the older scholarship, as well as giving all references in abbreviated form (full citations may be found in the bibliography). Throughout, the themes will be how one even defines “family” for this period, the position of women in a patriarchal society — outsiders to their husbands and to their husbands’ siblings and elders, they paradoxically became the very essence of “family” to their sons — how flexible and various were the ways that different people were or were not incorporated into the familial unit, the extent to which early medieval politics can be understood in the context of noble family strategies, and the

ongoing scholarly debate about “transformations” of the nobility around the year 1000.

Here I shall argue that there was no clear turning point at the beginning of the eleventh century from amorphous family units to agnatically structured kindreds. Rather, great noble families *always* emphasized the male line of descent, even if most were not successful in establishing a regular father-son inheritance until the eleventh or twelfth century. At the same time, and perhaps paradoxically, I shall argue that even in this patriarchal family structure women were never completely marginalized. Indeed, maternal blood might not be given much attention if a man’s paternal ancestors were of the highest levels of the aristocracy—but it certainly was if a mother’s relatives were more exalted than her husband’s. In the following chapters my conceptualization of the nobility shall emerge as more agnatic in the eighth through tenth centuries than has often been assumed, and as less rigidly agnatic in the eleventh and twelfth. Even though inheritance went preferentially to sons, primogeniture could never be routinely assumed—and brothers, one’s closest relatives in a male-dominated society, were also, at least potentially, one’s fiercest rivals.

The present volume is intended to be read in conjunction with my recent book on nobility and chivalry.¹ In discussing the life of knights and nobles in that book I made some assertions about the nature of noble family structure that need to be supported by the detailed discussions of the present volume. In this book I essentially take for granted the conclusions I reached there, after extended analysis, on the thorny issues of how one defines nobility and knighthood in the first place. This book therefore presents information about the nobles’ perceptions of the family, that group to which they were most closely connected, which supplements my earlier discussion of how nobles conceived of their role in a world in which constantly changing models of courtliness and chivalry were created by and for them.

The research culminating in this volume began twenty-five years ago at the University of Chicago, when I had just finished my doctoral dissertation, on twelfth-century bishops, and became inexplicably fascinated by Otto-William, count of Burgundy and Mâcon (981–1026). Working out the details of his family connections led me to reconsider the prevailing paradigms of noble family origins and structures, topics with which I have been involved at least intermittently ever since. Although none of the following chapters have him at their center (and I have resisted the temptation to give this volume the subtitle “Otto-William Studies”), he is found somewhere in at least half of them.² It is sobering to wonder what a powerful count and

war-leader who carved out a principality for himself and his descendants — long-lasting and significant, but not the principality for which he had initially hoped — would have made of a woman writing about him a millennium later.

I would like to thank Jerome Singerman of the University of Pennsylvania Press for being willing to be persuaded that this was a viable project.

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Abbreviations

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i>
GC	<i>Gallia Christiana</i>
Mansi	J. D. Mansi, ed., <i>Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collecta</i>
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica</i>
DD	<i>Diplomata</i>
Capit.	<i>Capitularia regum Francorum</i>
Epp.	<i>Epistolae</i>
LL	<i>Leges</i>
Poetae	<i>Poetae latini aevi Carolini</i>
SS	<i>Scriptores</i>
PG	J.-P. Migne, <i>Patrologia cursus completus, Series Graeca</i>
PL	J.-P. Migne, <i>Patrologia cursus completus, Series Latina</i>
RHGF	<i>Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France</i>

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ONE

Introduction

THERE HAS BEEN AN INTEREST in the histories of the medieval noble families of France since at least the eleventh century. The chronicler Alberic de Trois-Fontaines paused in his chronicle to give the complicated history of two related Burgundian families of the twelfth century, then apologized for his digression by saying, "May it not be irksome to anyone that I have given this list of persons, as their names appear frequently in monasteries' charters."¹ The only family trees written down before the eleventh century had been those of kings — and indeed these were as heavily influenced by the biblical lists of fathers and sons, and especially the mystical "tree of Jesse," as by contemporary concepts of kinship.² But by the late eleventh and twelfth centuries genealogists were routinely constructing pedigrees that traced the ancestry of the powerful for two or three centuries into the past. Many noble families set down their own genealogies in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and modern scholars have verified and amplified these genealogies by using contemporary charters in which noble donors list their children, wives, and parents.

The impulse to construct coherent family trees out of the names of the men and women found in medieval documents has moved genealogists from Alberic's time to the present. In the eighteenth century, this impulse led to multivolume studies of the upper nobility of France, and in the nineteenth century to monographs by local historians on the members of the middle nobility who once ruled their regions. In the second half of the twentieth century, a number of French historians, primarily under the influence of Georges Duby,³ set out to reconstruct the family trees of all the notable families of a particular geographic area in order to determine the relations, social and legal as well as familial, between different lineages. More recently, an understanding of the composition of powerful aristocratic families has been seen as necessary to appreciate their role in the evolution of medieval government.⁴

In spite of all this interest in medieval noble families and family trees, the

ways that men and women of the time perceived and constructed the circle of those related to them has been surprisingly little studied.⁵ Too often, the “family” has been seen as a self-evident unit, so that when the modern scholar is able to assign a particular individual to his or her “family,” that person’s identity is considered fully established. This book focuses above all on the ways that the powerful of the central Middle Ages conceptualized their relatives, that is, how they “constructed” their families between the eighth and the twelfth centuries, especially in the Frankish territories that were at the heart of Charlemagne’s empire. If the family is seen primarily as a construct, specific to a certain time and place, rather than a self-evident and unchanging entity, it will be easier to understand the different ways this group was defined, and how the family unit was different even for different individuals within it at one time, and even more so for people over the generations.

Medieval Families

First of all, it must be stressed that the modern conception of the “family” did not exist in the central Middle Ages.⁶ Present-day usage of the term usually suggests either the nuclear unit of father, mother, and children, or else a vague and rather unspecific collection of in-laws and more-or-less closely related people, but medieval Latin had no word with either of these meanings. Although in general people lived in nuclear units, there was no single term to describe such a unit. The medieval Latin term *familia* did not mean “family”; rather, it meant a household, including servants and attendants as well as actual relatives. On the other hand, a noble describing his relatives might speak of his *consanguinei*, or his *stirps* or *gens*, a group of people related by blood, usually through descent from a common ancestor. Such a group was both broader than the modern nuclear unit and narrower than the modern extended family.⁷ This group of blood relatives existed through time as well as space, and will be what I mean when I use the term “family.”

It should also be pointed out that a “family” is only an abstraction or collective noun and could therefore have no consciousness of itself or of anything else. Only individual family members could formulate views of who or what constituted their family. This may seem too self-evident to need stressing, but it is indeed vital, as fathers and sons, brothers and sisters, wives and husbands would always have a different perspective on what seems to a modern observer to be the same family.

It will be a central argument of this book that families were “con-

structed.” That is, each individual had to decide which ones, out of all the people to whom he or she was related by blood, were the true family members, those to whom one was allied. For each individual within what the modern historian might consider a single kin-group, the lines between family (or kin) and non-family would be drawn somewhat differently.⁸ Certainly some sort of line would have to be drawn: first cousins might be close relatives while eighth cousins were not, but there was no necessary point between those extremes where everyone would make the distinction between family and non-family.

By the twelfth century, most of the west’s powerful nobles were descended in one way or another from Charlemagne, a pedigree of which most were acutely aware, yet they did not consider other Carolingian descendants members of their families just because they shared this highly significant ancestor. On the other hand, the grandsons and great-grandsons of Charlemagne in the ninth century were fully aware that they shared a common ancestry, but they treated their first and second cousins not as family members and allies but as the enemy.

Women especially might make major changes in their own lives as to their family affiliation: a woman considered an outsider by her husband would be one of the most significant members of the “family” conceptualized by her sons and descendants. Alternately, family members might deliberately *exclude* certain of their relatives from their family, even though they were related by blood; the eleventh-century dukes of Normandy, for example, dramatically pared down the list of their tenth-century ancestors in order to establish their unique legitimacy.⁹ As I shall demonstrate, some of the ways that distinctions between family and non-family were drawn can be determined through an analysis of patterns of naming and inheritance, but throughout it must be kept in mind that there were no fixed rules, and not even necessary reciprocity: just because one person considered several others part of his or her family did not mean that the others all considered the same person part of *their* families.

Even for the same individual, membership in his or her family varied with the circumstances. At this period, then, the “family” was defined operationally. For someone going to war, the family members on whom he could rely might be an extremely restricted group. The wars between the sons of Louis the Pious are well known; here brother could scarcely count on brother except for treachery. Similarly King Boso, after establishing himself as king of Burgundy and Provence in 879, spent the next eight years, until his death, in constant warfare with the sons of Louis the Stammerer, his sister’s step-

son, and with his own brother, Richard le Justicier.¹⁰ On the other hand, once nobles became aware of, and even sometimes heeded, the ecclesiastical prohibition of marriage within “seven degrees,” they had to consider a “family” which extended to fifth cousins when arranging a marriage alliance. A “family” then was an abstraction rather than a concrete entity with practices and policies of its own; it was also an abstraction that fluctuated depending on time and circumstances, both for the individual over a lifetime and for successive generations.

In the discussion of the “construction” of noble families in this book, one should also keep in mind the extent to which the perception of medieval families as clearly differentiated units is a product of modern scholarship, not of the contemporary men and women who were part of these units. That is, it is far too easy to take the word “family,” essentially an abstract noun, and to make it concrete, to use it as though it represented an entity with sharp borders whose members routinely acted in concert.

In treating the modern “construction” of medieval families, I shall also analyze the value of the various methods that modern scholars have used to establish familial connections, as well as these methodologies’ drawbacks. The process of constructing families, deciding who among the medieval nobility was related to whom, is an activity in which many scholars, including me, are still engaged. It can be an exciting hunt, to find a charter that suggests a formerly unsuspected connection, or to rectify a commonly accepted kinship connection which is not supported by the primary sources.¹¹ (Technically such scholars are creating “family trees”; the term “genealogy” should be reserved for a family history written in the Middle Ages. The terms have, however, become almost interchangeable, and “genealogists” can be either medieval or modern.)

As scholars of the twenty-first century create family trees for people who lived over a millennium ago, they must always be aware that “family” does not and did not reside only in biological connections. The real question is which people noble men or women would have considered part of the same group as themselves—and how this shared group membership affected how they treated them, or how they sought to identify new members of the group with those who were already in it.

Noble Family Structure

Throughout the period from the eighth to the twelfth centuries, the nobility was considered an elite: nobles were set above the rest of society because of

their wealth, their power, and especially their exalted birth. Well before *nobilitas* was juridically defined, members of the group and the churchmen who wrote their histories had no trouble distinguishing who was and was not *nobilis*. Membership in this elite constantly increased, yet the concept of *nobilitas* was remarkably stable in this period. It did begin to undergo important changes in the twelfth century, however, as knights, who had not originally been part of the nobility, began their slow upward rise and as, even more importantly, members of even the highest aristocracy also began to define themselves by their military prowess and to title themselves “knight,” *miles*.¹² But at the point that this book comes to a close, at the end of the twelfth century, noble blood was still the indispensable indicator of nobility, and no ceremony could make up for a lack of exalted blood-lines. Only in the later Middle Ages did the ceremony of knighting become a sign of nobility, or did the king ennoble those who served him.¹³

A crucial indicator of noble family structure is the way that people of the time referred to their relatives—or rather the way that their vernacular terms were put into the Latin of the charters. There was a large and flexible vocabulary available to differentiate within the groups called *consanguinei*, *parentes*, or *propinqui*, those who shared blood or were otherwise close. Indeed, *propinquus* could mean either a blood relative or a relative by marriage.¹⁴ More distant relatives, whether a great-uncle, a second cousin, or a great-nephew, might be referred to simply as *propinquus meus* or *parens mea* without further specificity. *Nepos* and *neptis*, meaning nephew and niece (there was no distinction between a brother’s and a sister’s children), were also the normal terms for grandchildren, and were also often used for younger cousins.

More specific terms defined the narrow group of relatives who acted together and normally lived together for at least part of their lives: mother and father, grandparents, spouses, sister and brother, and children. *Mater* and *pater* (or *genitrix* and *genitor*) for parents, *avia* and *avus* for grandparents, *uxor* and *maritus* (or *coniunx* and *vir*) for spouses, *soror* and *frater* (or sometimes *germana* and *germanus*) for siblings, *filia* and *filius* for children were unambiguous—but, it should be noted, maternal and paternal grandparents were referred to using the same terms, and *germanus* and *germana* were sometimes used for half-brother and half-sister. Although classical Roman terminology had distinguished between maternal aunt and uncle, *matertera* and *avunculus*, and paternal aunt and uncle, *amita* and *patruus*, medieval scribes often mixed these terms. Similarly, an ancestor more distant than grandfather might be referred to variously as *proavus*, *abavus*, or *atavus*.

No family unit was unchanging, and the people who had been son and daughter, brother and sister when young would become parents, uncle and

aunt, or grandparents themselves with the passage of time. As this happened, even the narrowly defined “family” changed for them. This then is the key point. The great lords of the eighth through twelfth centuries had specific terms for family members, terms that became more unspecific the further one went from the closest connection, but these terms were all relative ones, with no meaning except in relation to other individuals. Families changed, became larger and smaller, with changing years, with changing circumstances, and especially for different individuals. For the modern historian to treat a “family” as a well-defined group is to miss the central issue in family consciousness: that individuals’ recognition of kinship was what created a “family” in the first place, not the other way around.

Creating Family Trees

To be able to discuss noble family structure coherently, it is necessary to refer to specific family groups, so there are a large number of family trees in the following pages. They have been developed and refined to the best of my ability through reference to the primary sources. Although of course I have consulted the published family trees of other scholars, many of whose reconstructions I agree with, it is never enough to cite a secondary author as the source of a family tree. Everyone makes foolish slips in getting family trees into print; I have done so myself. To reprint a family tree without reinvestigating the primary sources will only perpetuate such slips, as well as possibly introducing new ones. Even worse, if there has been a scholarly debate over whether a certain person cited in contemporary chronicles (named, let us postulate, “Bernard”) might belong to this lineage or that one, a modern scholar who simply reprints the family trees of the two lineages based on the conclusions of the various scholars who have worked on them may end up with two different men, both named Bernard, acting in the same area at the same time but belonging to different families, when in fact, no matter who his father was, this Bernard was singular, not multiple. Such difficulties and potential difficulties mean that all reconstructions of medieval family connections are works in progress.

There are no firm criteria on which one can determine whether two people were related. If the primary sources are unambiguous, there will be no problem, but they are often irritatingly laconic and confusing, and different sources may contradict each other. There may indeed be times that the only conclusion possible is that one of the sources is wrong. If the author of the

difficult source lived and wrote at some distance from the events, or is known to have copied an earlier history except for a brief passage that could well be his own speculation rather than a statement of historical fact, or used words (like *atavus* or *avunculus*) in a way that does not accord with classical usage, it is sometimes better to assume that the source is in error (or perhaps is using classical terms in a nonstandard way) than to try to conjure into existence an extremely elaborate series of alliances, third and fourth marriages, and extra people with the same names just to try to reconcile all the sources.¹⁵

An almost overwhelming temptation for some modern scholars has been to attempt to create family trees based on name similarities. It is of course indisputable that medieval noble children were primarily named for their relatives — parents, grandparents, and, especially for younger children, aunts and uncles. As I shall discuss in the course of the following chapters, such naming patterns are a key indicator of family consciousness. Yet overreliance on name similarities (“leading names,” *Leitnamen* in German) can easily lead the unwary genealogist beyond the realm of probability. Maurice Chaume pioneered the method of constructing family trees based on name similarities for the Carolingian and pre-Carolingian period, when normal genealogical indices are lacking. As a result, he probably produced more fanciful family trees than any other scholar of the twentieth century. He did so in the belief that property was normally inherited “legitimately,” and that if one knew that a certain man was count of a region at the beginning of the ninth century, then the man who was count there at the end of the century must have been his grandson. It is unfortunate that this indefatigable and thorough researcher into six centuries of Burgundian history should have been led astray by this touching belief.¹⁶

In essence, constructing family trees out of “leading names” is based on the assumption that no one in the upper levels of society was ever named for anyone but an ancestor and that, therefore, if two men with similar names held property in the same general area at different times, one must be a lineal descendant of the other. But even some proponents of this method, including Karl Ferdinand Werner, have warned against its overhasty application.¹⁷ I would go further still, given the many difficulties that burden this approach. The chief are as follows.

First, it is not at all self-evident that, simply because the same name tended to be repeated from father to son (or grandfather to grandson) in the twelfth century, the same pattern must have applied earlier. In tenth-century French records, it is quite common to find such family groups as the wealthy couple Romestagnus and Godaltrudis, who had four sons, Alberic, Aymo,

Fulcher, and Emmanuel, whose names show no similarities.¹⁸ Other regions show a similar pattern. The tenth- and eleventh-century counts of Bologna, although they represented a father-son lineage, did not repeat a name for five generations — the first six hereditary counts in succession were Ubaldo, Bonifacio, Adalberto, Walfredo, Ugo, and finally a second Adalberto in the later eleventh century. Even among younger brothers of these counts there is no known repeated name until the fourth generation. Similarly, in eighth- and ninth-century Bavaria, children were very rarely named for their parents or grandparents. At most, their names might contain a variation of part of a parental name; for example, one Waltker named his son Kerholt, and Wolfperht was the son of Erchonperht.¹⁹ Attempts to construct genealogies on the basis of such evidence alone could only be self-defeating.

Second, unrelated lineages may carry the same name: witness, for example, the frequency of the name “William,” found in the eleventh century in the lineages of the dukes of Normandy, the dukes of Aquitaine, the counts of Burgundy, and the counts of Provence — since Otto-William, count of Burgundy in the early eleventh century, married his children into the other three lineages, the family connection cannot have been close. In fact, even early in their ancestry, these lineages acquired the name “William” independently. The dukes of Aquitaine, William since the beginning of the ninth century, acquired the name first chronologically. The name first appears in the lineage of the dukes of Normandy with William Longsword (d. 942), son of the Viking Rollo and a presumably Celtic woman (and thus someone unlikely to be a relative of the duke of Aquitaine).²⁰ Otto-William himself, count of Burgundy in the early eleventh century, was named not for a male ancestor but for his grandmother, Willa.

In addition, it seems more likely that the counts of Provence took the name William in imitation of—or as godsons of—the dukes of Aquitaine rather than from any blood relationship to them.²¹ The viscounts of Provence in turn took the name “William” in imitation of the counts of Provence; and at the beginning of the eleventh century, when Count William of Provence named his sons Fulk and Geoffrey (after the relatives of his wife, Adelaide of Anjou), Viscount William followed suit about a generation later.²² It was especially common for two lineages to carry the same name without being related when one lineage represented the dependents of the other lineage, as has been demonstrated in other regions as well as France. For example, in Bavaria in the tenth through twelfth centuries, those who served in a powerful lord’s household, even those who were nonfree, were often given the same names as the lord’s own children. Similarly the Anglo-Saxon peasantry of Norman

England often took Continental names in imitation of their Norman masters in the generations after the Conquest.²³

Even when knights and nonnobles were not named for their immediate lord, they were often given the name of a great man of the region. For example, the name Hugh became very frequent in the region around Cluny in the late eleventh century, where Saint Hugh was abbot for sixty years; and Heinrich and Konrad, originally the names of kings, became the names of every “Tom, Dick, and Harry” (“Hinz und Kunz” in German usage) in the twelfth century.²⁴ It should thus be clear that, even assuming continuity of names, the fact that an apparently new lineage carries the same name as a great ninth-century lineage need not imply direct biological descent; it could equally well indicate that the new nobles were the descendants of the dependent servitors of the nobles who bore the same name in the ninth century.

More minor but still significant problems include difficulties in ascertaining if two Germanic names rendered the same in the Latin of the documents actually are the same or, conversely, if one name rendered in two ways actually means two separate individuals.²⁵ Even in the twelfth century, when eldest sons were frequently named for their fathers, it is difficult to know how to attach other members of the family to this purely male line of descent if, due to the identity of names, one cannot be sure when one lord died and his son succeeded.

And of course children were often named for the men and women on their mother’s side of the family as well as their father’s. This was especially true if the mother’s relatives were more powerful or exalted than the father’s, in which case, even if a certain nobleman had been named for a glorious ancestor (rather than his lord), there is no guarantee that he was the direct male-line descendant of an old family instead of the son of an upstart who had married a woman of an old family. Even boys from powerful families—at least the younger ones—might be given the names of their maternal relatives, and might end up inheriting if the older brothers died young. Of the three youngest sons of Frederick Barbarossa, for example, two, Raynald and William, were named after their mother’s ancestors, and one, Philip, seems to have been named not after any ancestor but perhaps after one of Frederick’s friends.²⁶

An example from one of the best-documented lineages of the eleventh and twelfth centuries demonstrates that, if this lineage had existed in a time when the documentation was sparser, use of names alone would never have served to reconstruct it. Suppose there is a certain king, William I, who is succeeded first by his son William II and then by a younger son, after whose

death there is a period of interregnum and civil war. The fighting ends after almost twenty years when a young count ascends the throne, a man who has recently married the daughter of a certain *Willelmus dux*. Based on names alone, one would most likely assume that this young king had succeeded due to his wife's hereditary claim to the throne. If, further, this king chose as the companion of his own heir another William, who later served as regent for his grandson, one would assume that this William was some collateral relative of the first royal house of Williams. But in this case the assumption is false. Henry II of England ascended the throne because he was the grandson of King William I's youngest son, Henry I; Duke William X of Aquitaine, his wife's father, entered in no way into his claim to the throne. And William Marshal, the companion of Prince Henry and later regent for Henry III, was not related to the kings of England and, indeed, had origins in a simple knight's family.

In creating family trees even for the rulers of medieval society, one will never be able to fill in all the gaps, because medieval people themselves saw no need to create an exhaustive list of all their relatives. Certainly *genealogiae* were put together at the time for some powerful kindreds, especially (although not exclusively) the kings, but even these were never intended to be complete, and were limited to what the medieval genealogist himself could learn—or imagine. For the most part the modern genealogist is reduced to hunting for names and mentions of marriages and affiliations in chronicles and cartularies, the same places, indeed, that a twelfth-century genealogist might look. The mention of ties of blood and marriage in these charters and chronicles indicates that those who composed them certainly considered some connections of this sort worth recording, but it is rare to find, for example, an indication that the offspring mentioned are all of a couple's (surviving) children, much less any assurance that all brothers and sisters are enumerated.

This book opens with a discussion of the origins of the French nobility, especially the question whether the noble families who dominated France in the twelfth century were parvenus who had risen to power through their own strength, or the direct descendants of those who had ruled since Carolingian if not Merovingian times. In arguing that this question has been misstated, and that continuities in noble blood-lines and the appearance of new men need not be mutually exclusive, I especially stress the role of noble women, who could, through marriages with men with undistinguished ancestry, be-

stow exalted pedigrees upon their jointly produced children. In the next chapter, I further explore the impact of marriages on family structure and self-definition by examining consanguinity and the extent to which nobles before the twelfth century deliberately avoided marrying their cousins—and how this practice may have facilitated marriages between well-born women and men who were not their social equals.

Next, the focus shifts to the more specific issue of how the nobles of the Carolingian and early Capetian periods conceptualized their “families,” which shall be approached from such indices as patterns of names, when the family connections can be independently determined, and of memorial commemoration. Several important kin-groups, especially the dukes of Septimania and the so-called Bosonids, are examined in detail to determine whether there was a transformation around the year 1000 from rather amorphously defined groups of agnates and cognates to more narrowly constructed patrilineal groupings. Here I argue that patrilinear family consciousness, often assumed to be a phenomenon only of the High Middle Ages, had indeed been in place during the Carolingian period, as a goal if not necessarily a realized objective. Thus I conclude that the difficulties most lineages faced in establishing a regular succession of fathers and sons were due to the political upheavals of the ninth and tenth centuries, not to any failure of intention.

Yet patrilineal family organization did not mean that women were marginalized. Women take center stage in the following chapters, as I explore the patterns of their names and the ways these names migrated between male-defined lineages, becoming established in new ones. Again, in exploring the role of noble women in the construction of families, I make marriages into the centerpiece they should be of any discussion of “family.” Next I turn to the issue of the relationship between power and family, exploring the family connections of a line of counts and of one very influential woman.

The book closes in the twelfth century, when far more plentiful sources make it easier to determine who was and was not related. Because one can, for the first time, trace confidently several lines of cousins even among those no more exalted than castellans, it is possible to explore in greater detail the different ways descent could be imagined or constructed; for example, one can see parallel dynasties, the father-son line of descent ruling in the castle and the uncle-nephew line of descent (paternal *or* maternal) in the church. In many ways the castellans of the twelfth century, with their lines of lords all carrying the same names, appear more orderly and predictable than the comital families of the ninth and tenth centuries. Yet for these lords, as for nobles

ever since the eighth century, the “family” was not a preexisting entity into which the individual was simply slotted, but something constructed anew in each generation and in each set of circumstances. Blood-ties remained crucial, but in the high Middle Ages as in earlier centuries, each individual had to work out, without any concrete rules, the size and responsibilities of the family group, and to find his or her own place within it.

TWO

The Origins of the French Nobility

THE QUESTION OF THE ORIGINS of the French nobility of the High Middle Ages has been debated since at least the eleventh century: were these nobles “new” men—recent descendants of soldiers of fortune—or were they the direct descendants of the dukes and counts of Carolingian or even Merovingian times? Scholarly consensus long inclined toward the former opinion, but in the last generation or so a number of historians sought to establish the latter. In either case, the question has been treated as a strict “either-or” issue: if nobles were “new,” they could not in any way be descended from the Carolingian nobility, or, conversely, if nobles’ pedigrees had any discernible origins in the nobility of the ninth century or earlier, then they could not be considered “new” nobles.¹ This chapter will reexamine this question and attempt to resolve this apparent dichotomy by tracing a number of noble lineages, especially their marriage connections, which provide a crucial but underutilized index to noble origins.

Anyone following the chronicles and charters of one region from the ninth through the eleventh or twelfth century must be struck by the increase in the number of nobles found in the sources. In the ninth century the nobility formed a very small group; by the twelfth every region included dozens of noble lineages. Thus, the question of the origins of the nobility is whether this elite constituted an open or closed class in the early Middle Ages—whether, in other words, a family could experience upward mobility and join the upper ranks of the aristocracy. In the following pages I seek to demonstrate the upward mobility of several French families into the ranks of the high nobility. A family will be considered part of the nobility if its members are referred to as *nobilis*, *dominus*, *vir illuster*, or *praeclarus* in the records or, in the absence of such a designation, if they were given an important title such as *comes* or *dux*. Indeed, the term *nobilis* may have been reserved for those whose status was not immediately evident from their titles.²

State of the Question

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries it was assumed that the new nobles were truly “new,” men of socially inferior backgrounds who gained their power during the confusion and political vacuum of the late Carolingian period. The prologue to the twelfth-century *Chronica de gestis consulum Andegavorum* states, “At the time of Charles the Bald, many new and nonnoble men, stronger than the nobles in goodness and virtue, became great and renowned.” The anonymous author seems to have reworked a phrase from the classical author Sallust, though changing its meaning: Sallust was speaking of new men who cared little for goodness and virtue, the twelfth-century author of new men made strong by these very attributes.³

He went on to describe the first ancestor of the early counts of Anjou as being a forester and country person (*habitor rusticanus*) and the father of a dependent of Charles the Bald (*cliens, casatus*), who was himself the father of a serving knight (*miles*) of Louis II. The author’s use of terms — *cliens* and *miles*, for example, which in the twelfth century indicated someone in a socially inferior position to the *domini* and *nobiles* — shows that, whether or not he was accurate about the counts’ origins, he considered them examples of the “new” men who became “great and outstanding.”⁴ A century earlier, Aimon of Fleury had expressed a similar view of the origins of the new nobility when he said that Robert the Strong, the ancestor of the Capetian kings, had attained his power when the king left him, a dependent soldier, to fight the Norsemen and the Magyars, while retreating himself. The historian Richer, Aimon’s contemporary, referred to Robert as a simple knight, “ex equestri ordine.”⁵

In the twelfth century, especially in England, the idea of the nobility of previous centuries as a group open to upward social movement was given apparent support by the example of the participants in the Norman Conquest of 1066. Many men of undistinguished background who had fought on the winning side, or who served the new line of kings, had descendants who were in the twelfth century indubitably part of England’s ruling elite.⁶ This view of a new nobility stemming from knights and nonnobles who appropriated power during the ninth and tenth centuries was accepted from the eleventh and twelfth centuries down to the mid-twentieth, when Marc Bloch gave it its most forceful statement.⁷

More recently, however, many scholars have challenged Bloch’s view and attempted to show that members of the “new” French nobility of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were, in fact, the direct descendants of the “old” nobility,

the ninth-century counts and officials of Charlemagne's court, and that their position came not from an appropriation of power but from their illustrious ancestry. Karl Ferdinand Werner has offered the strongest challenge to the idea of a "new" nobility in studies designed to show the social and biological continuity of the nobility from the time of the first Carolingian kings to the twelfth century. He attempted to demonstrate continuity of lineages where there is no standard genealogical evidence by using the evidence of names, *Leitnamen*, presumed to be repeated from generation to generation. Werner dismissed the twelfth-century belief in a "new" nobility as mere "wishful thinking" (*Wunschtraum*) with no basis in fact. His insistence on genealogical continuity in the noble class stemmed from an attempt to prove that the early medieval nobility had an existence separate from the king and was not "re-created" anew by each new royal dynasty.⁸

Similarly, E. Warlop and Léopold Genicot, both working with sources from the Low Countries, concluded that the nobility was established there as a class of powerful landowners from the early Middle Ages and underwent little change in composition until the thirteenth century; both, however, recognized that this point is hard to demonstrate directly, as almost no noble genealogies can be traced earlier than the year 1000. Following Werner, Georges Duby and Jacques Boussard also set out to demonstrate that many of the French noble families of the eleventh and twelfth centuries had at least one ancestor among the Carolingian nobility.⁹

The strongest argument against this new consensus, of seeing the nobility as essentially unchanged throughout the early Middle Ages, long came from the work of Karl Schmid. Schmid postulated that medieval men became conscious of membership in a continuing family unit only when a direct line of inheritance began in offices and castles; at that point their consciousness became identified with the father-son-grandson line that inherited and held the office in turn. Gerd Tellenbach used this concept to argue that trying to demonstrate continuities of noble families before the point at which families gained consciousness of themselves as a continuing unit is anachronistic. Rather, the diversity of status of the nobles in the central Middle Ages, he concluded, indicates that there must have been some sort of social mobility—either up or down—during the tenth and eleventh centuries.¹⁰

As further discussed in Chapter 4, I myself find the "Schmid thesis" problematic, at least in the rather simplistic form in which it has been taken into the French historiography. Originally developed to discuss German noble families, the thesis carries with it the postulate of a sharp break around the year 1000, very different from the continuities in west Francia argued

by Werner and others.¹¹ It has thus proven difficult when scholars such as Georges Duby have accepted the idea of a radical change in family structure without appreciating the extent to which this thesis contradicts the idea of unbroken continuities, which he accepted from Werner.¹² I shall myself question the idea that the nobility was static from a somewhat different angle: one cannot speak of continuities or discontinuities of a social group without discussing its members' marriages.

Families and Family Trees

Many attempts to trace the nobles of the High Middle Ages back to the nobles of Charlemagne's court have been based — erroneously, I believe — on the assumption that a noble may be considered a descendant of a noble who lived a century earlier if the two have the same name. The dangers of such overreliance on *Leitnamen* were discussed in Chapter 1, and they are highly relevant in asking about the origins of high medieval nobles. Even careful historians (though one should here except Werner himself) can be trapped in circular reasoning: the assumption that nonnobles would not carry the name of a noble, or that nonnobles would never progress to the point where they could be mistaken for nobles of the same name, leads to the conclusion that everyone in the same region bearing the name of an old noble family belonged to it and, consequently, that there was no new nobility in that region. Other forms of circular reasoning are also possible; one may assume that nobles never married their social inferiors and, thus, conclude that anyone with unknown origins who married a noble must also be of noble birth. Obviously, this sort of reasoning can lead to a neglect of indications that a new nobility was emerging. Continuity in the common names of noblemen — Gui, Lambert, Boso, or William, for example — does not establish the absence of new nobles.

To be resolved, the question of whether the noble families of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were “new” or “old” must be examined through the histories and family trees of individual families. Even when a family tree from the High Middle Ages is well established, there is always a point before which the family line cannot be traced: modern scholars may lose track of the lineage in sparse or uninformative records, and medieval genealogists may resort to vague remarks about glorious ancestors in Rome or Troy.¹³ Almost no French families of the central Middle Ages except the Carolingians can be traced to the eighth century, and only the greatest ducal and comital families (including the Capetians) to the ninth; most other comital families can be traced only

to the tenth century, and most castellan families only to the eleventh or early twelfth. The scantiness of genealogical evidence before the tenth century has led some to reject all attempts to draw family trees, in preference for a study of the groups of nobles who lived at the same time and appear together in the documents.¹⁴ But, for all the difficulties they present, family trees remain the only way to describe the emergence of noble families. The alternative is to discuss amorphous groups of relatives and presumed relatives, in which all the difficulties involved in establishing accurate family trees are present, but in exaggerated form.

Figures 2.1 and 2.2 show the family trees of several families chosen to demonstrate the origins of the French nobility. All influenced events in the heart of so-called “feudal” Europe, and all were undoubtedly members of the upper nobility by the twelfth century. By then many had some blood of the Carolingian aristocracy in their veins—whether or not they were aware of it. A number of scholars have maintained that the obscurity that often surrounds a noble family’s origins is due only to scantiness of documentation—that, if the evidence were better, all a twelfth-century noble’s ancestors could be demonstrated to be of the upper nobility. But marriage patterns in a number of lineages indicate that families arising from stock that was obscure in the full sense of the term were frequently grafted through marriage onto the old nobility, and that this happened rather early in their rise to eminence. This marital history explains why historians have frequently found that many families viewed as belonging to the “new” nobility by twelfth-century writers had some ancestors in the Carolingian nobility.¹⁵

To resolve the seeming paradox of “new” nobles who nonetheless carried old blood lines, I discuss the rise of several noble families chronologically, in the order of their emergence from obscurity in the ninth, tenth, or eleventh centuries. With the benefit of this information, I return to the question of whether members of these families belonged to the “old” or “new” nobility. Most of the great royal and ducal families of the High Middle Ages first appear in records from the ninth century. I have chosen six of these families as representative of the “old” nobility to which to compare the (relatively) “new” lineages that emerged in the tenth and eleventh centuries. All six had intermarried by the tenth century.

Ninth-Century Counts and Dukes

One of Europe’s oldest lineages is that of the Capetian kings of France, the descendants of Robert “the Strong,” a lineage that still continues today in

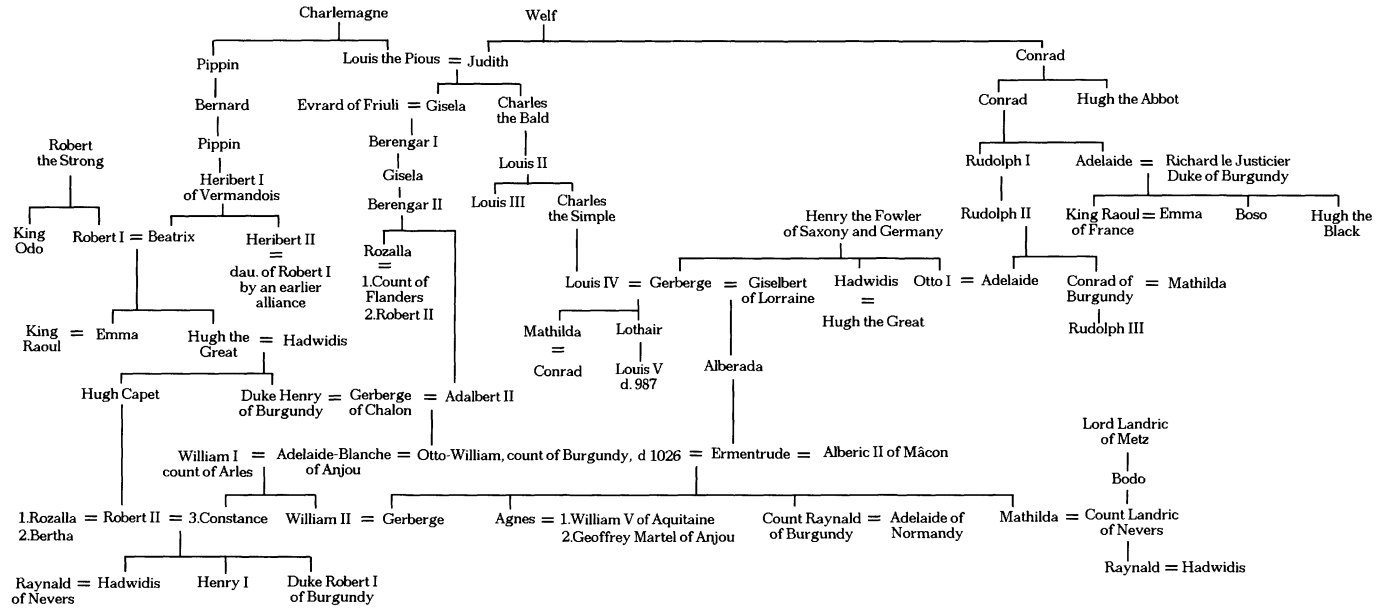


Figure. 2.1. Family ties among royal and great comital lineages, showing the variety of ancestors by the eleventh century among the families mentioned in this chapter. There is some overlap within and between Figures 2.1 and 2.2.

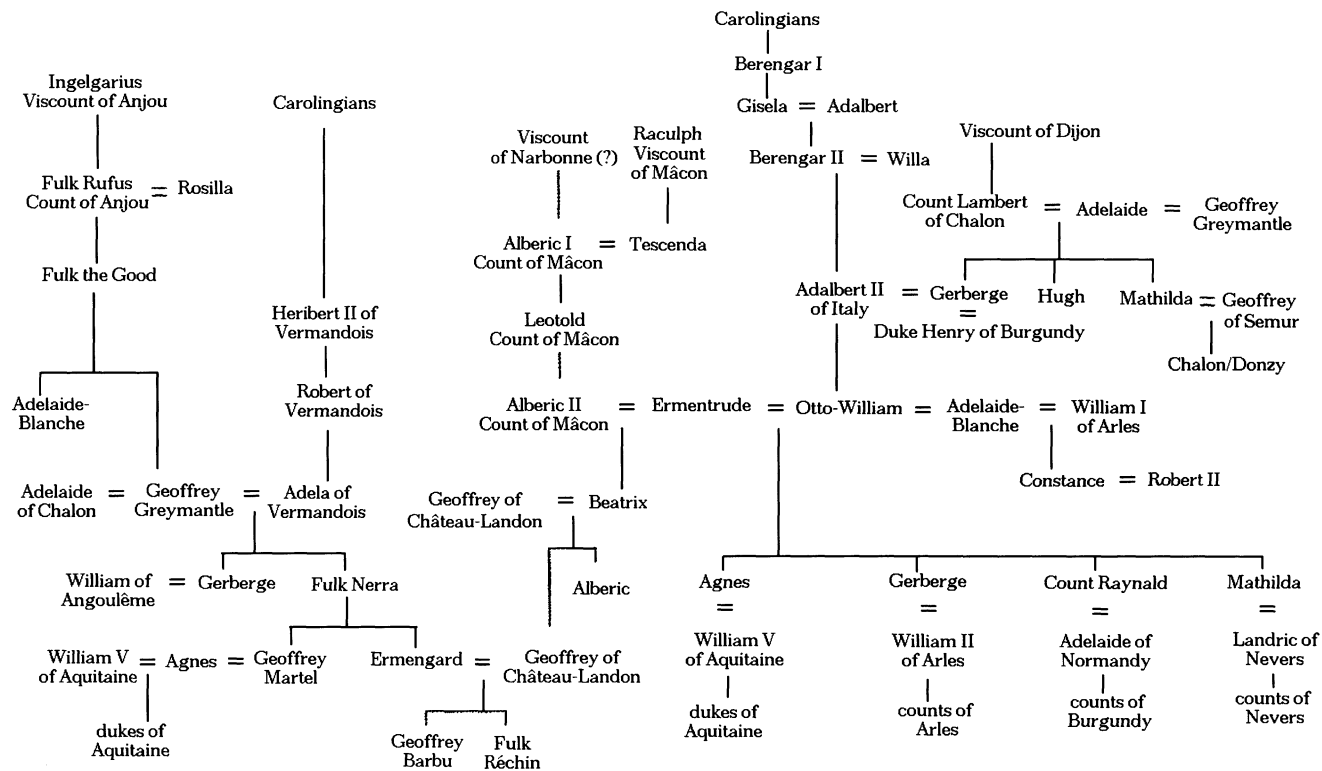


Figure 2.2. Family ties among important comital lineages.

the Bourbon dynasty of Spain. (I have called all Robert's descendants "Capetians," although some scholars prefer to call them "Robertians" until the time of Hugh Capet, a century and a half later. For the sake of clarity, I prefer to call this family by only one name; they had no name for themselves.)

Count Robert the Strong (d. 866) obtained his power while fighting the Vikings for Charles the Bald.¹⁶ His ancestry is a virtual blank, in spite of many ingenious attempts to discover his origins, few of which have convinced anyone but their creators. Indeed, a literature refuting attempts to establish Robert's ancestry has grown up parallel to the literature that seeks to prove this ancestry.¹⁷ The only explicit statement in the sources is the remark by Richer, who wrote a century later, that Robert's father was named "Witichinus."¹⁸ Even if Richer was correct, the question still remains who Witichin might be, and in fact most historians make Robert the descendant of a line of Roberts or Odos. Probably the only safe conclusion is that Robert came originally from the Rhineland.¹⁹ There can be no doubt, however, that his descendants were part of the upper nobility and some of the most powerful men in France.

If I may add one argument to the endless discussions of Robert's origins, it appears that the oft-attempted endeavor to link him to the Welfs is fruitless. True, the eleventh-century *Chronicle* of St.-Bénigne called Hugh the Abbot, himself a Welf, the brother of either Robert the Strong or of his sons: "Supererant duo filii Rotberti Andegavorum comitis, frs. Hugonis abbatis."²⁰ Scholars have generally expanded the abbreviation to *fratris* and made Robert the brother, brother-in-law, or cousin of Hugh; some have also expanded it to *fratres* and made Robert the stepfather of Hugh. In fact, this passage was taken almost verbatim from the earlier *Miracula* of St.-Benoît. Here, however, there is no mention of Hugh the Abbot; the chronicler of St.-Bénigne seems to have added the phrase "fratres Hugonis abbatis" (as I prefer to expand the abbreviation), not because he had any intimate knowledge of Robert the Strong's relations but because he assumed that Hugh the Abbot, who was given Robert's property when he died (leaving his sons only boys), must have been Robert's son.²¹ Whatever Robert's family connections, however, his two sons, his granddaughter's husband, his great-grandson, and all succeeding eldest sons who survived their fathers were kings of France.

A second great family that emerged in the ninth century was that of the dukes of Burgundy, the descendants of Richard le Justicier (d. 921). He, like Robert the Strong, first appears in the sources in the late ninth century resisting the Viking invaders in the name of the Carolingian kings, who had fled to safety. His origins, discussed in Chapter 5, are not quite as obscure as Robert's,

although before Richard family members seem to have been clients of the Carolingians, rather than powerful in their own right — his uncle served Louis the Pious and acted as his *ostiarius*. But his descendants were certainly powerful nobles; his three sons, Raoul, Hugh, and Boso, dominated Burgundy west of the Saône in the first half of the tenth century, and Raoul married the granddaughter of Robert the Strong and became king of France in 923.

A third great lineage of the ninth century was that of the counts of Vermandois, an unusual family in that their ancestry in the male line was undoubtedly Carolingian: Charlemagne's son Pippin, king of Italy, had a son Bernard, who had a son Pippin, who was the father of Heribert I, the first of the hereditary counts of Vermandois. These counts married into lineages that were apparently more recently established than their own: Heribert II of Vermandois married a granddaughter of Robert the Strong, sister of the wife of Raoul of Burgundy.²²

The Ottonian kings of Germany and the Rudolphian kings of imperial Burgundy both traced their origins to men who held the office of duke at the beginning of the ninth century. Henry the Fowler, son of Duke Otto of Saxony, was the first of his line to replace the Carolingians on the German throne in 919; his son Otto I made himself western emperor in 962. Henry the Fowler's daughter Gerberge married first Duke Giselbert of Lorraine and then the Carolingian King Louis IV, and her sister Hadwidis married Hugh the Great, grandson of Robert the Strong.²³ The kings of imperial Burgundy traced their ancestry back to Welf, who lived at the beginning of the ninth century and was the father of Louis the Pious's second wife, Judith. A continuous succession of fathers and sons ruled Burgundy from 888, when Rudolph I was crowned, until 1032, when Rudolph III died without sons and the kingdom became part of the German kingdom. This family, too, intermarried with the other great families of the region: Richard le Justicier married the sister of Rudolph I, and King Conrad, son of Rudolph II, married the granddaughter of Henry the Fowler.²⁴

A final example is provided by the kings of Italy. The earliest well-documented male ancestor is Evrard of Friuli. He was probably the son of one Unroch, but nothing is known of him but his name. Evrard married the daughter of Louis the Pious (by Judith, the daughter of Welf). Their son Berengar I and Berengar's grandson Berengar II were for much of the ninth and tenth centuries kings or claimants to the throne of Italy. The daughter of Berengar II married in succession the count of Flanders and King Robert II of France. When Berengar II, who was ruling with his son Adalbert II, was deposed by the emperor Otto I in 962, Adalbert fled to Burgundy, where he

married the daughter of the count of Chalon and became the ancestor of the eleventh- and twelfth-century counts of Burgundy.²⁵

Tenth-Century Counts and Dukes

As men from newer lineages emerged from obscurity, they sought marriages with daughters of the old nobility, of which the above six families are representative. If the ninth century is the period when the greatest families of northern France and the Empire appear, the tenth is the century of the counts. The comital families initially appeared serving the great nobles who once served the Carolingians. If not actually “humble” in status when they first appear in the documents, the earliest known members of these tenth-century lineages were inferior to and dependent on members of families whose lineages had emerged a century earlier. The question whether these families can truly be considered members of a “new” nobility requires a detailed history of their origins and early marriages. The founders of many comital families had their start as viscounts. Viscounts were dependent retainers of the counts, originally little more than bailiffs whom the counts established as their representatives when their possessions were too vast to be ruled personally.²⁶ Yet in the course of the tenth century a number of families with viscomital origins rose into the nobility and took the title of count.

A good example is the family of the counts of Anjou,²⁷ who began their rise to power serving the heirs of Robert the Strong (who had become count of Anjou under the Carolingian Charles the Bald). When Count Fulk Réchin of Anjou composed the genealogy of his ancestors in the late eleventh century, he traced his line back to one Ingelgarius, the father of the first viscount, who lived at the very end of the ninth century.²⁸ A twelfth-century chronicle adds that Ingelgarius was grandson of a peasant named Tortulf, a legend which, while it certainly shows a twelfth-century belief in the rise of new men, is not considered genealogically accurate.²⁹ Contemporary documents, however, confirm Ingelgarius’s existence. His son Fulk Rufus first began to consolidate the family’s power in western France, being made viscount of Anjou by the Capetians; he first appeared as Robert I’s viscount around 900.³⁰ As viscount, he should have exercised no power independent of the counts, but around 930 Fulk exchanged the title of *vicecomes* for *comes* in his charters, and the county of Anjou ceased to be a Capetian possession. (No stickler for niceties, Fulk had already made himself abbot of St.-Aubin of Angers, a practice not uncommon among the great nobles of the tenth century.)

Fulk's grandson, Count Geoffrey Greymantle, said in a charter of 966 that he held the county of Anjou "by the grace of God and of Duke Hugh" [Capet], but the Capetians, who were distracted by their wars with the Vikings, the Carolingians, and the other great nobles of France, never recovered the county.³¹ Indeed, at the end of the eleventh century, Count Fulk Réchin declared that his ancestors had received Anjou not from the Capetians but directly from the descendants of Charles the Bald; the Angevin counts had now established their own authority. (The fact that the Capetian king Philip I had recently stolen Fulk's wife doubtless added to the force of Fulk's insistence that his ancestors had received the county "non a genere impii Philippi.")³²

Even while holding a title no more exalted than that of viscount, the ancestors of these counts began to marry into the ruling families of their region. According to the twelfth-century *Chronica de gestis consulum*, Ingelgarius married the niece of two noble bishops of the Orléanais and received Amboise from her uncles at the time of the marriage. According to the same source, Ingelgarius's son Fulk Rufus married an *uxor nobilis* from whose paternal grandfather the bishops had originally received the lordship of Amboise.³³ After Ingelgarius and Fulk Rufus had married into this closely knit noble group of the lower Loire, Fulk's son and heir, Fulk the Good, married a woman of unknown origins, named Gerberge.³⁴ But *his* son Geoffrey Greymantle married Adela, daughter of Robert of Vermandois and thus a direct descendant of Charlemagne.³⁵

Geoffrey's daughter Gerberge married the count of Angoulême, the direct descendant of men who had been counts of Angoulême since the mid-ninth century.³⁶ Geoffrey's sister Adelaide-Blanche, however, was the most wide-ranging and successful in her marriages.³⁷ She married in succession Stephen of Brioude (called count of Gévaudan by some modern scholars), Prince Raymond of Gothia (whose family had been princes in southern France for at least a century),³⁸ the Carolingian king Louis V (although she divorced him before he ascended the throne), and Count William I of Arles. Her sons controlled the entire French littoral of the Mediterranean, along with Provence, Gothia, and much of the Auvergne.³⁹ She and Count William were parents of Queen Constance, third wife of King Robert II. After William's death, she was most likely married a fifth time, to Otto-William, count of Burgundy, the son of King Adalbert II of Italy. Thus in only three generations the upward mobility of the descendants of Ingelgarius had produced connections with some of the most important families of the older nobility.

It should be noted here that doubt has sometimes been cast on Adelaide-Blanche's marriage to Otto-William. However, it is clear from other sources

that his second wife was named Adelaide, and the pope certainly addressed a letter to Otto-William, his son Raynald, and Countess Adelaide, "*cognomento Blanche*." If, as has been maintained, this was indeed Adelaide-Blanche of Anjou but she was not identical to Otto-William's wife, one must wonder why the pope did not mention Otto-William's wife Adelaide when addressing the rest of his family. It thus seems most likely that this daughter of the count of Anjou was married a total of five times.⁴⁰

A comparable case of upward social mobility in a viscomital family is found in the counts of Chalon-sur-Saône. They, like the counts of Anjou, were originally delegated a county to hold in trust for members of the older nobility. But they quickly took power for themselves and, once possessed of the comital title, began to marry members of the class of their former lords. The earliest known member of the family is Robert, viscount of Dijon in the first half of the century. Dijon and Chalon were both at that time in the possession of Hugh the Black, one of the sons of Duke Richard le Justicier of Burgundy.⁴¹ But about the middle of the tenth century, Lambert, one of Viscount Robert's sons, became count of Chalon. Neither the date nor the process by which he became count is precisely known, although it is surely significant that he adopted the title around 960, only a few years after repelling an invasion into Burgundy.⁴² Lambert had first appeared in the documents concerned with property at Chalon in 944, although he is not specifically called "count" then. A charter drawn up about 980, near the time of his death, said that he had obtained the comital office "*assentante rege primoribusque Franciae*." He may simply have appropriated Chalon and been accepted as count by the Carolingian king Louis IV or his young son Lothair at a time when the Carolingians were deeply involved in wars with the Capetians and the sons of Hugh the Black.⁴³

However he obtained his office, Lambert was able to keep it. The son and brother of viscounts, he made the office of count of Chalon a hereditary possession of his descendants. The transitional status of the family at this time is illustrated by the very different disposition of his two daughters in marriage. One, Mathilda, married the lord of Semur, only a castellan. The other, Gerberge, first married Adalbert II, deposed king of Italy (and bore him the famous Otto-William), and then Duke Henry of Burgundy, brother of Hugh Capet. Although none of Lambert's sons married (the only one to survive him was Hugh, Bishop of Auxerre [999–1039], who ruled as count during his lifetime and left the county to Mathilda's children on his death), the marriage of his daughter Gerberge indicates that his family was considered suitable by a nobility in search of marriage partners. The similarities between the upward

mobility of the counts of Anjou and that of the counts of Chalon are emphasized by the marriage, after Lambert's death, of his wife Adelaide to a count of Anjou, Geoffrey Greymantle, whose first wife, Adela of Vermandois, had recently died.⁴⁴ (For Adelaide, see also below, Chapter 8.) Acceptable marriage partners for the Capetian dukes, relatives of the counts of Chalon also considered it appropriate to marry daughters of castellans, lower in the ranks of the nobility, and thus provided a conduit through which new blood-relations could flow.

A third family that began as viscounts and ended by being linked with royalty as well as with castellans through its marriages is the family of the tenth-century counts of Mâcon. William the Pious, duke of Aquitaine at the beginning of the tenth century, was also count of Mâcon. But in the confusion over the succession to Aquitaine after his death—the duchy went first to his *nepos* William the Young and then to the counts of Poitou—control of Mâcon was appropriated by William's viscounts. The first of the new line to call himself count was Alberic, an adventurer from Narbonne who married the daughter of Viscount Raculph of Mâcon. Viscount Raculph appears with the designation *uocatus comes* in a charter from the final years of the ninth century; apparently control of Mâcon was already slipping during William's lifetime.⁴⁵ His son-in-law Alberic may well be the same as the Alberic who appears, in a charter drawn up by the bishop of Narbonne, as the son of the viscount of Narbonne,⁴⁶ but there is no evidence that members of his family had ever served as other than stewards for the upper nobility. He and his son and grandson, however, called themselves counts, and both son and grandson married into the high nobility.

Alberic's son, Count Leotold, married the daughter of Count Manasses of Burgundy. Leotold's son, Count Alberic II, married Ermentrude, the granddaughter of Duke Gisbert of Lorraine and of Gerberge, the sister of King Otto I of Germany.⁴⁷ This family of counts of Mâcon ended in the male line with Alberic II, who died around 980; he had had two sons, but they either predeceased him or entered the church. Alberic was succeeded as count of Mâcon by Otto-William, who married his widow Ermentrude.⁴⁸ In the female line, Alberic's daughter Beatrix married the lord of Château-Landon, thus tying the counts of Mâcon to a castellan family of the region (Château-Landon is in the Gâtinais, between Burgundy and Paris) as well as to the counts of Anjou: Beatrix's son, Geoffrey of Château-Landon, married the daughter of Count Fulk Nerra and became the father of Counts Geoffrey Barbu and Fulk Réchin.⁴⁹ Thus the tenth-century counts of Mâcon, like those of Anjou and Chalon, were able to rise from the level of viscounts to become

counts, able to produce marriage partners socially suitable for the already established nobility.

A fourth and final example of a comital family arising from humble origins in the tenth century is the family of the counts of Nevers. This family's history was written in the middle of the twelfth century by Hugh of Poitiers, a monk of Vézelay. The earliest ancestor mentioned in his "Historia" is Landric, nephew of Bishop Adalgar of Autun (d. 894). Adalgar, according to the chronicler, was an undistinguished Poitevin and a clerk at the royal court who had become bishop of Autun because a king of France — unnamed — realized that Adalgar would be very capable of recognizing evil, after spotting him one evening "playing with a certain young woman."⁵⁰ The bishop and his nephew were present with Richard le Justicier at the siege of the "little castle" of Metz in the Nivernais, Hugh of Poitiers continued, and Landric fought so well that he was given the castellany for his own. Whatever the accuracy of this story, it scarcely suggests exalted origins for this comital family. Hugh of Poitiers said further that Landric married a woman from Anjou, but it is not clear whether he meant a relative of the counts of Anjou.

Landric's son Bodo continued as a petty castellan of the Nivernais, but Bodo's son Landric, who first appears in the documents in the second half of the tenth century, established the family's power. In a long and active life, he served Duke Henry of Burgundy, Hugh Capet's brother, appearing in his charters with the designation *gloriosus miles*, abetted King Robert II in his attempts to stay married to — or at least "in his little bed" with — his cousin Bertha, went to war against a number of noted people, attempted to reform Vézelay by the expedient of driving all the monks out and asking the abbot of Cluny to send him some new ones,⁵¹ and married the daughter of Count Otto-William of Burgundy. He acquired the county of Nevers, according to Hugh of Poitiers, as a gift from the count of Burgundy; it seems most likely that he obtained both Nevers and Auxerre at the time he married Otto-William's daughter. Both of these counties had been held by Robert the Strong; they had doubtless been inherited by his descendant, Duke Henry of Burgundy, who had in turn left them to his stepson, Otto-William.⁵²

In the wars that broke out in 1003 between King Robert II and the great Burgundian nobles, Landric, in spite of the help he had given the king in the affair of Bertha, held Auxerre against him during a protracted siege. He made friends with Robert again before his death, however, and affianced his son Raynald to Robert's daughter Hadwidis.⁵³ With this marriage, Raynald (d. 1040) was confirmed by the king in his possession of the counties of Auxerre and Nevers. His son William married Ermentrude, the heiress of the county

of Tonnerre (her ancestors had held the county since the mid-tenth century); henceforth, the three counties of Auxerre, Tonnerre, and Nevers were inherited together by William's descendants. Landric's second son, Bodo, married the daughter of Count Fulk Nerra of Anjou.⁵⁴ Thus, during the course of the tenth century, Landric of Metz and his descendants had advanced from petty castellans to powerful counts, and their advance was given recognition when they were considered suitable marriage partners for the granddaughter of the last king of Italy and the daughter of the second king in the unbroken line of Capetian kings of France.

The counts of Anjou, Chalon, Mâcon, and Nevers are typical of families that began in the early tenth century as viscounts or castellans, serving the great lords of the older families, but that during the century obtained the comital office for themselves by their own strength: in part they were rewarded by the great lords for their service, and in part they took what they wanted while the great lords were distracted elsewhere. Many other examples could be added. The counts of Champagne traced their origins back only to Thibaud Tricheur, count of Blois and Chartres in the mid-tenth century, who seems to have been the son of a Viscount Thibaud, who had held his power in the name of the Capetians, although Thibaud Tricheur married a daughter of the Carolingian count of Vermandois.⁵⁵ The counts of Vendôme had their origins in men who served the Capetians for much of the tenth century and took the comital title themselves in the second half of the century.⁵⁶ The eleventh- and twelfth-century counts of Joigny and Joinville were descended from the viscounts of Sens, who had in the late tenth century begun to call themselves counts and marry daughters of local counts.⁵⁷

About the same time that they obtained their comital titles, the counts of all these lineages began to marry women of high noble or royal blood. After a generation or two as counts, they began to marry their own daughters to men of royal blood. Even though some members of the old nobility insisted on marrying king's daughters themselves, in many cases noblemen in search of spouses did not distinguish between counts' daughters with long pedigrees and counts' daughters of relatively recent position. A pedigree consisting of two or three generations of powerful and highly respected men would do almost as well around the year 1000 as a longer pedigree of royal but weak ancestors.

The eleventh-century historian Sigibert, though speaking of nobility as residing in a long ancestry, did not trace his hero Wicbert's pedigree back before his grandparents; in fact, he said that the power that came from a large number of relatives and the wealth that came from a multitude of possessions

were what gave rise to worldly nobility.⁵⁸ The well-established nobles of the tenth century always seem to have considered nobility to reside (at least in theory) in the blood, but, when they were looking for spouses for their daughters, power and wealth—in a count with a short pedigree of powerful viscounts—made a man perfectly acceptable as a son-in-law. And, in choosing wives for themselves, they found suitable women who had at least one female ancestor in the old nobility, whatever their other connections might be.

Eleventh-Century Castellans

After the year 1000, the nobility again expanded as a new group of families, the castellans, began to consolidate their power and marry the daughters of older noble families, as had the viscounts before them. By the eleventh century, the old nobility, enlarged by the inclusion of the former viscounts, had begun to lose part of its wealth due to generations of partible inheritance and of generous gifts to local monasteries.⁵⁹ At the same time the castellans had accumulated and consolidated sufficient power to join the noble ranks. The castles that had sprung up across Europe in the late tenth and eleventh centuries in the wake of the invasions became central points around which power could be built.⁶⁰

Castellans, like viscounts, seem to have originated as dependent officers of the counts. The two groups, although they often overlapped, should be distinguished: the castellans obtained their positions later and generally were not able to rise as high as the viscounts. But men who had originally been appointed custodians of these new castles quickly became hereditary lords. They imitated the customs and manners of the old nobility and came to be considered noble and thus suitable partners for nobles in search of spouses.⁶¹ A few examples will illustrate the process.

The lords of Semur, mentioned above in connection with the counts of Chalon, first appeared as castellans with Geoffrey I, at the very end of the tenth century. Geoffrey's father Joceran seems to have owned a large amount of land in the Lyonnais; he and his brothers often made gifts to the abbey of Savigny, where his brother was abbot. No evidence suggests that Joceran and his brothers were considered members of the nobility: they were never called *nobilis* in their charters and held no office or castle. But Geoffrey I acquired the castle of Semur and, about the same time, married the daughter of Count Lambert of Chalon, thus becoming the ancestor of the eleventh- and twelfth-century counts of Chalon. He was also married a second time, to an unknown

woman by whom he had Dalmace I, who succeeded him as lord of Semur. The marriages of Dalmace's children indicate the extent to which this rather short castellan lineage had been accepted into the nobility, for his daughter Helias married Duke Robert I of Burgundy, grandson of Hugh Capet, and his son Geoffrey II married Adelaide, daughter of Count Raynald of Burgundy—himself son of Otto-William and grandson of the last king of Italy.⁶²

Another family that went from obscure castellan origins to marriages with counts and dukes is that of the lords of Vignory. Their origins were definitely not in the nobility of Charlemagne's time, for, according to a brief history of the family drawn up in the twelfth century, the founder of the line was a Norseman named Raoul Barbeta.⁶³ The descendants of this tenth-century chieftain quickly established themselves as part of the castellan society of Burgundy. The origins of the wives of the first few lords of Vignory are unknown, but in the late eleventh century Gui IV married Beatrix, sister of the Capetian duke of Burgundy, and their daughter married Count Roger of Joinville. Thus, the descendants of a Norse chieftain had become respectable castellans in the course of the eleventh century, to the point that a lord of Vignory and his daughter could marry into lineages powerful since the ninth or tenth century.

A final example of upward mobility is provided by the Grossi family of the Mâconnais. The earliest known male ancestor, Joceran, lived at the end of the tenth century. Since he did not have a castle he cannot be called a castellan, and he is given no noble titles in his charters, but he married a woman whose ancestors had been lords of Brancion and called *nobilis* since the early tenth century. Joceran seems to have held a fairly large amount of allodial land in the region north of Cluny, and his descendants (who took the surname Grossus) acquired the castellanies of Uxelles and then of Brancion (from his wife's relatives). In the eleventh century, his male descendants married daughters of other petty allodists of the Mâconnais; but in the twelfth century one married the sister of the duke of Lorraine, and a son of this couple married the daughter of the count of Chalon.⁶⁴

Examples could be multiplied. Members of a number of castellan families with no counts in their ancestry began in the late eleventh century to marry daughters of comital families and to marry their own daughters to counts. These marriages might in part have been an attempt by the more powerful to control the lesser nobles by making them their sons-in-law.⁶⁵ But whatever the motivation, the result was a group of closely related nobles of all ranks. The process continued throughout the twelfth century. The effect was that, by the end of the twelfth century, the great noble families of counts

and dukes were related by blood or marriage to a large proportion of the viscounts and castellans of their regions.

This recruitment of the castellans by the nobility, aside from demonstrating social mobility, is connected with a trend toward regionalism and localism. In the ninth century the upper nobility of Francia had been small and "international." As has also been noted for ninth- and tenth-century Bavaria, there was no purely "local" nobility there because all members of the noble class were related.⁶⁶ By the twelfth century, however, most counts and dukes had fewer far-flung possessions than the nobles of three centuries earlier. The castellans who had joined the nobility by the twelfth century and established their own wealth and power had never had much authority beyond their geographic regions. As a result, with a greater variety of local noble families from which to choose their spouses, the nobility of the twelfth century tended to marry closer to home.

For example, the Capetian duke Hugh II of Burgundy (1102–43) had at least seven children who married (three additional sons became bishops and one daughter a nun), and all but one of these seven married someone of a comital or castellan family from in or near Burgundy: the daughter of the count of Champagne, the daughter of the count of Chalon, the daughter of the lord of Grignon, the lord of Donzy, the lord of Montpellier, the lord of Vaudemont, and the king of Sicily (the one marriage with someone from far outside the region of Burgundy).⁶⁷ None of these spouses came from lineages established before the tenth or eleventh century, but all were considered suitable partners for the children of a duke whose ancestors had been kings, dukes, and counts since the mid-ninth century.

This gradual broadening of the size of the nobility continued in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as descendants of simple knights, the armed retainers of counts and castellans, began to enter the ranks of the nobility (in spite of the increasing resistance of the already established nobles to accept new additions to their ranks). Knights first appear in French records during the wars and strife of the late tenth century, and they became common by the end of the eleventh century. These dependent warriors were well on their way by the end of the twelfth century to becoming part of the nobility.⁶⁸

Marriage and Status

Thus the new nobles, whether they began as viscounts, castellans, or knights, quickly entered the web of alliances that had united the members of the old

nobility with each other. Although counts and dukes did not marry the daughters of knights, by the twelfth century the lords of smaller castles often married knights' daughters. When these less important castellans married their own daughters in turn to more powerful castellans, and the more powerful castellans married their daughters to viscounts and counts, their knightly blood entered comital lineages. Members of this web of interrelated aristocratic families could say that they were characterized by wealth, power, and birth. The wealth and power were undoubted, in both the new and the old nobility, and members of the new nobility could generally also pass on the criterion of birth. Although written "proofs" of nobility were not, of course, required before the thirteenth century, most counts of the eleventh century (even if descended very recently from viscounts in the paternal line) as well as many castellans in the twelfth century could point to mothers or grandmothers who came from old noble families. Thus the newly established nobles acquired "old" noble ancestors through their mothers, and, equally significantly, "old" nobles who married the daughters of newly established counts (who themselves had married women of the old nobility), after they had been established for a few generations, bestowed "new" ancestry on their own children.

This understanding of a closely related nobility, into which new lineages quickly became integrated, explains the paradox of "new" versus "old" nobility in medieval social structures. On the one hand, men of the twelfth century believed that "new" men had quite recently entered the ranks of the nobility. On the other, most of the "new" men—or their immediate descendants—can be demonstrated to have had in their ancestry at least one member of the old nobility, a pattern of descent that has caused many modern scholars to declare that there was no "new" nobility at all.

An especially striking example of this paradox is that most of the important lineages of twelfth-century France had some Carolingian blood—that is, Charlemagne can be placed in their ancestry by modern scholars—yet they themselves seemed neither to know nor to care about this ancestry. When Hugh Capet replaced the last French Carolingian, Louis V, all contemporaries agreed that Hugh was not of the blood of Charlemagne; but in fact his grandmother Beatrix was the daughter of the count of Vermandois, a descendant in the direct male line from Charlemagne. Although this connection between the second and third "races" of kings of France was noted in the later Middle Ages and has been confirmed by modern scholars,⁶⁹ it was apparently unrecognized in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Rather, Hugh Capet's accession was considered at the time to have ended

the line of Charlemagne's descendants on the throne. The chronicler Ademar of Chabannes approvingly described Hugh's election as king as the replacement of a family that had lost the favor of God, by neglecting the churches, with the Capetian line.⁷⁰ Indeed, at the end of the twelfth century, Louis VII's marriage with Adela of Champagne and Philip II's with Isabel of Hainaut were each hailed by Philip's supporters as at last creating a union between the Carolingian and Capetian lines, and the thirteenth century saw the development of an elaborate myth in which Philip II's son Louis VIII represented the final union of the Carolingian and Capetian lineages; the earlier connections were clearly unknown.⁷¹

This apparent paradox can be resolved by realizing that the men of the Middle Ages could not be acutely aware of every ancestor, especially since distant blood connections with old royal families were not the chief determinants of the assumption of royal power. Hugh Capet relied on his election by the French nobility and the strength of his supporters rather than on any Carolingian blood to justify his assumption of the throne. At a time when the last Carolingians appeared helpless against the invasions, which were resisted by the Robertians/Capetians in France (the Vikings), the Ottonians in Germany (the Magyars), and Berengar and his descendants in Italy (the Magyars and the Arabs), practical power rather than any distant link with Charlemagne determined the candidates when the aristocracy met to choose a new king.⁷² The earliest genealogies that attempted to show the descent of comital families from the Carolingians were composed in the late eleventh century, although these comital families had often held office from the ninth or tenth century.⁷³ Not until the twelfth century was any general effort made to link the new kings and counts of Europe with those of the eighth century.

But there is more to the fact that apparent "new" men were unaware of the old nobles in their family trees than simple forgetfulness or a lack of concern for such niceties at a time when a strong sword arm was of chief importance. Also vital is that the old noble lineages came to be part of the pedigrees of the "new" nobles primarily through marriage. An example is provided by the Ottonian and Salian kings of Germany, who in the male line had rather undistinguished ancestors but who had for a long time married women who may have had Carolingian blood (in their own maternal ancestry).⁷⁴ Nobles who could trace their lineage back to the tenth century generally concentrated on the first male in their paternal line to attain the comital title—that is, the first "new" noble who was given or appropriated power. When Fulk Réchin wrote the history of the counts of Anjou at the end of the eleventh century, for example, he gave most of his attention to the counts, starting with Ingel-

garius, not to their wives. By emphasizing the first viscounts in the male line to become counts, men of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were certainly justified in speaking of “new” nobles.

If their ancestry is traced strictly in the male line (or, at least, in the line that held a certain office or county), as was done by the noble families themselves, the nobles of the eleventh century clearly had tremendously diverse origins. Modern scholars who take “old” nobility in the maternal ancestry of a recently established lineage to prove that they are not “new” are emphasizing ancestors about whom eleventh- and twelfth-century nobles were usually ignorant. It would be more useful to ask whether the first male of a lineage to acquire office was already a member of a powerful noble family. Since the greatest European families had already focused their family consciousness on the male line by the end of the ninth century, as discussed below in Chapter 4, the conclusion would seem warranted that those lineages with ancestry only traceable to the tenth and eleventh centuries did not have paternal ancestors among the great ninth-century noble families.

But the medieval nobility appears to have always been composed of both old and new elements. A family’s entry into the aristocracy was recognized when its members followed marriage strategies that won them spouses from the upper nobility. Once the noble marriage had been made, of course, all descendants of an upwardly mobile man had some ancestors of high noble blood. In attempting to prove that there was no “new” nobility, some modern scholars have mistaken the effects of acceptance into the nobility—that is, exalted ancestors for one’s children—for the cause.

Thus some historians have believed that, by demonstrating “biological continuity” between ninth- and twelfth-century families, one can prove that there was “no new nobility.”⁷⁵ Yet most of these families considered themselves the heirs of a man who had seized a comital office, though not a member of the old aristocracy. The example of the early counts of Anjou shows, at most, that men without exalted origins could become marriage partners for the daughters of the old nobility. Though the ancestors Tortulf and Tertulle given in the twelfth-century history of the counts of Anjou as the grandfather and father of Ingelgarius (the first historical personage in the history) were doubtless imaginary, Ingelgarius certainly had some paternal ancestors. Whoever they were, they could not have been members of the small group of nobles into which Ingelgarius and his son Fulk Rufus married. Even if one accepts the suggestion that Adelhard, grandfather of Fulk’s wife, was the son or nephew of the Adelhard who served as seneschal for Louis I, an assumption that rests only on the similarity of names, it does not follow that Ingel-

garius and Fulk themselves belonged to the small elite of royal attendants. Indeed, Fulk was most likely *not* a descendant of Louis I's seneschal if he married that seneschal's great-granddaughter.⁷⁶ On the basis of Ingelgarius's and Fulk's marriages, some scholars have concluded that there was no "feudal anarchy" or "social revolution," but the evidence could equally well suggest that the old, inbred court elite was casting its nets wide for new spouses and that something like a "social revolution" was actually taking place.

A comparable difficulty arises in Duby's effort to construct pedigrees of petty castellans of the Mâconnais in order to prove their Carolingian origins.⁷⁷ An examination of the links between the castellans and the "old" nobility shows that they are nearly always through a daughter (or daughter's daughter) or a female cousin. It thus cannot be argued that these castellans were descended from younger sons of the old aristocracy or that they represent the restructuring of a large, old noble family into narrow lineages, but rather that they were descended from upstart castellans who had acquired enough power to be considered suitable sons-in-law by noble fathers with a large number of eligible daughters.

Similarly, although it has been postulated that the seigneurial lineages of the Loire must be the (male line) descendants of the "less favored" cadet branches of the ninth-century nobility,⁷⁸ the evidence shows not less favored noble sons but rather men like Thibaud, viscount of Blois and ancestor of the counts of Champagne, an apparent "soldier of fortune" whose son married the daughter of the count of Vermandois. This alliance does not prove that this family had "Carolingian" origins, however, but merely that it had origins in an upwardly mobile man who caught the eye of the old nobility. Overall, it appears unlikely that the variety of social and economic position among eleventh- and twelfth-century noble families could have been purely a matter of younger noble sons being less "fortunate."

It should now be clear that mere demonstrations of "biological continuity" do not prove that the nobility was a closed caste from the ninth century onward.⁷⁹ Rather, men of new rich and powerful lineages became part of the closely related web of noble families by marrying daughters from older families and by marrying their own daughters to other nobles. The answer to the question of whether or not there was a "new" nobility in western Europe in the tenth and eleventh centuries thus depends on the definition of "new." If the presence of an "old" noble in a family's ancestry is considered sufficient to justify calling it an "old" family, then, as many modern scholars have claimed, there could have been no "new" nobility at all. But one would be equally justified in calling all the eleventh- and twelfth-century nobles the products of

“new” families, since they all had at least one castellan, soldier of fortune, or viscount in their ancestry.

As a glance at Figures 2.1 and 2.2 shows, in the late eleventh century Count Fulk Réchin of Anjou could have found in his family tree a social spectrum ranging from castellans of Château-Landon through viscounts of Narbonne and counts of Mâcon to Charlemagne’s immediate descendants. The dukes of Aquitaine of the same time could have traced their ancestry to dukes of Saxony, kings of Italy, and Charlemagne, but also to viscounts of Dijon. The contemporary counts of Nevers had among their ancestors the same viscounts of Dijon, dukes of Saxony, and Carolingians as the dukes of Aquitaine had, and the counts of Nevers had, in addition, castellans of Metz. But, when the contemporary histories of these families were written, the focus was invariably on the line of males who had held the comital or ducal office. Attainment of noble status was indeed often signaled by a marriage with a woman of an old family, but beyond the preceding one or two generations nobles were primarily aware of their male ancestors.

The attempt by modern scholars to demonstrate “biological continuity” has primarily been intended to establish that the tenth century, a period that has seemed to merit the title “Dark Ages” more than any other in the Middle Ages, was not the turning point that historians have often assumed it to be—was not a time of rupture between the old Carolingian and new “feudal” nobility.⁸⁰ It is not, however, necessary to rehabilitate the tenth century completely in order to dispute that old idea. Certainly the invasions, wars, and confusion created an atmosphere particularly suitable for the rise of new men. Yet the sudden appearance of new counts in the records does not mean that all the old counts were gone, for some were certainly still in evidence; when a new count appears in the records, he is generally seen allied with—or at war against—the Capetians, the counts of Vermandois, the dukes of Aquitaine, or the descendants of Richard le Justicier, to say nothing of the Carolingians themselves, all of whom had roots in the ninth century or earlier. New men had, of course, been on the rise since long before the tenth century. The *senatores* of sixth-century Gaul included many new men among their numbers, and the Carolingians themselves, before they rose to authority and the crown in the eighth century, were just one of almost a dozen Frankish ducal families of approximately equal power and ambition.⁸¹ The period between the ninth and twelfth centuries was certainly a period when the nobility expanded, but this need not mean it was a time of “rupture.”

It is not necessary, moreover, to argue that the ninth-century nobles, a small group, were the sole ancestors of the much more numerous twelfth-

century aristocracy in order to show continuities from the early to the high Middle Ages.⁸² It is indeed hard to trace *any* descendants for the majority of Charlemagne's contemporaries, much less to find all later nobles descended from them. As is well known, some important lineages died out in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; it would be difficult to assert that such extinctions did not take place in the ninth and tenth centuries. Rather, those ninth-century families who continued into the tenth were joined by new noble families, into which they married, and together these two groups of families were joined in status and marriage with the castellans of the eleventh century.

New Marriage Partners

Two questions remain after examining the nobility as an expanding web of interrelated lineages. First, why would members of the old aristocracy be willing to marry their daughters to new men—and after a few generations be willing to marry women of new lineages themselves? And, second, if the new nobles were not just unrecognized descendants of old families, then who were they? Answers here must remain tentative, but some suggestions are possible.

Surely one reason the new nobles were able to marry into older lineages so readily was pragmatic: if a noble had a large number of marriageable daughters, he would consider a rich and powerful count—though of relatively short pedigree—as a logical choice for one of them. Certainly there were economic advantages for medieval families in marrying off their daughters, advantages that facilitated marriages to relative upstarts.⁸³ But there are also some indications that, from the tenth century onward, old noble families were making a conscious search for spouses from lineages to which they were not already related. Since during the ninth century the small number of families that constituted the old aristocracy had all intermarried, in the tenth century they either had to find new sources for marriage partners or had to marry their cousins. And as discussed in the next chapter, marriages between cousins were forbidden from the late ninth century by the church's stand against broadly defined "incest." In the tenth and eleventh centuries, the period during which viscounts and castellans were welcomed as marriage partners for counts' daughters, very few marriages occurred between persons who were more closely related than fourth or fifth cousins—and those that did usually ended in divorce. Only in the twelfth century, when generations of intermarriage had once again made it very difficult to find a social equal

who was not also one's cousin, did nobles begin entering into marriages in the full knowledge that they were technically incestuous.

Before then, the solution was frequently to choose a partner from a lineage that was not already related to the present nobility because it sprang from nonnoble ancestors. As the first of the line to appear was generally a man who had been made a dependent viscount or castellan by the well-established nobility, but had quickly been able to make himself independent, it seems logical to conclude that the old counts chose their "representatives" from the nonnoble free men of the region. The existence of such a class of free men is well attested. French scholars have long since given up the thesis that nobility and freedom were exact equivalents in the Middle Ages.⁸⁴ The ninth- and tenth-century documents from St.-Bénigne and Cluny (two houses with unusually rich archives from before 1000) are filled with the names of men who appear without comital or ducal title, without the designation *nobilis*, being generally called only *quidam homo*, yet with enough land to make sizeable gifts to monasteries. The first ancestors of the lords of Semur and Uxelles, for example, seem to have been of this group.

Moreover, free men often had allods even if they were not noble. Although at one time scholars thought allodial property was unusual in the "feudal" period, a number of regional studies have revealed that it was actually quite common. Regional historians have generally concluded that the frequency of allods in the region under study makes it different from the rest of France; the number of such studies from many different parts of France with the same conclusions suggests rather that the "prevailing wisdom" on the frequency of allods needs to be changed.⁸⁵ The frequency of allods is masked only by the fact that a given parcel rarely appears in the documents except when it is given to a church or a feudal lord and thus loses its allodial character.

Free men, with enough wealth in allodial property to release them from the necessity of engaging in agriculture themselves, would have made ideal candidates for the nobility to choose as viscounts or castellans.⁸⁶ The fragmentary evidence from the ninth century indicates a considerable range of personal status; the conscious distinction between the nobles, "those who fight," and the peasants, with no one in between, did not come until the eleventh century (if then).⁸⁷ One is thus not faced with a stringent choice of either making the new nobility descendants of peasants or else making them all descendants of the very small group of ninth-century nobles. Free men with a little wealth, though not yet a castle or county, were available to fill any gap and to marry any unattached noble woman. Although the scanty evidence makes any firm

conclusion impossible, it is attractive to postulate that viscounts and castellans who entered the ranks of the nobility in the tenth and eleventh centuries had free and ambitious — though nonnoble — possessors of allodial property in their backgrounds.

All attempts to define the nobility of the high Middle Ages as either “new” or “old” have been overly simplistic. To insist on the tenth and eleventh centuries as a period of a sharp break in the composition of the group is to ignore the many indices of biological continuity and also the continuity in the very concept of *nobilitas*. Yet this continuity does not mean that membership in this group was frozen. As old lineages died out, new ones appeared, and, as the remaining old nobility sought nonconsanguineous alliances, all of them soon shared an ancestry composed of both soldiers of fortune and Carolingian counts through their marriages with each other’s daughters. Although modern scholars of institutions and government may prefer to emphasize the continuities in the ruling aristocracy, medieval men saw themselves as living in a period of mobility and opportunity: a new noble pointed with pride to the first ancestor who had made himself part of the ruling group rather than to the marriage with an older line that had set the seal on his success.

THREE

Consanguinity and Noble Marriages

THE MARRIAGES that linked older and newer lineages together, as discussed in the previous chapter, were specifically Christian marriages, carrying a symbolic and religious weight that had not been found in late antiquity. Ecclesiastics first developed the theory of marriage as a sacrament between the ninth and twelfth centuries.¹ While powerful families continued to arrange their children's marriages, churchmen began to insist that the free consent of the partners was the essence of a valid marriage. During this period, divorce gradually diminished until the only ground for divorce was the discovery that the marriage had not been valid initially (this was technically an annulment rather than a divorce). A number of "impediments" could make a marriage invalid, such as the realization that one of the partners was already married to someone else, but the most commonly invoked impediment was consanguinity.

In this chapter I explore the reaction of the French nobility to the church's definition of incest as residing within "seven forbidden degrees" and attempt to demonstrate that, at least in the tenth and eleventh centuries, powerful nobles gave serious attention to the ecclesiastical definition of consanguinity when arranging their children's marriages. A number of different considerations were doubtless involved in every choice of a spouse, considerations that determined whom out of a collection of eligible women a noble man would marry, but the issue of consanguinity often determined who was *not* eligible.

Here it is important not to start from the assumption that a flouting of ecclesiastical prohibitions, such as is often seen in twelfth-century records, must have also prevailed in the preceding two hundred years. Modern scholars have often remarked that, by the twelfth century, two hundred years after marriages within "seven degrees" were generally forbidden, a couple frequently ignored their blood-relationship at the time of their marriage, and indeed until such time as they decided for other reasons to seek a divorce.

The divorce of Louis VII and Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1152, on the grounds that they were related within “four or five degrees”—something everyone seems to have recognized at the time of their marriage—is only the most outstanding example (there were four generations back to the common ancestor, King Robert II, on his side, and five on hers).² Flagrant flouting of the decrees indeed led to reassessments of the validity of the ecclesiastical definition of consanguinity in the late twelfth century.

Three cases of Popes Alexander II and Clement III involving discovered consanguinity, considered important enough to be included in the decretal collections of the early thirteenth century, illustrate the use of this impediment to obtain a desired divorce. One couple at Beauvais bribed witnesses to swear to consanguinity between them in order to obtain a divorce fraudulently, and a nobleman of Fermo suddenly decided after seven years that he and his wife were cousins (Alexander was not convinced and disallowed the divorce). Clement III declared that if witnesses who knew that a couple were related failed to speak up at the time of their wedding, their testimony should not be accepted later.³

Such widespread (though by no means universal) use of ecclesiastical rulings as a convenient escape hatch led to serious questions whether it was proper to prohibit marriages within seven degrees and eventually a sharp reduction in the “forbidden degrees” at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, from seven to four.⁴ A flood of marriages followed that would have been considered incestuous a generation earlier. Yet members of the nobility had not always ignored the church’s prohibition on consanguineous marriages; one cannot read the twelfth century back into the tenth and eleventh centuries. In the earlier period, as I shall argue here, one vital factor influencing the nobility’s choice of marriage partner was a conscious desire to avoid those to whom they were already related.

Forbidden Degrees

Roman civil law had forbidden marriages within “four degrees” and had computed degrees by counting from one prospective spouse up to the common ancestor and then down to the other partner. Hence a father and daughter were considered related within the first degree and a brother and sister within the second. Marriages of first cousins, those between people related within four degrees, were forbidden, but those related more distantly were considered suitable marriage partners. Canon law originally followed the Roman

computation; two councils held at Rome in the first half of the eighth century forbade a marriage between a man and his niece or first cousin but made no further proscriptions.⁵

But two key changes occurred in the first half of the ninth century, when both the number of forbidden degrees was increased — from four to seven — and the method of calculating degrees was changed. Now, rather than counting up from one spouse to the common ancestor and down to the other, one computed degrees by counting generations strictly back to the common ancestor. The Pseudo-Isidorian decretals of the ninth century declared that marriages were incestuous if contracted between the children of one person, or his grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and so on to his great-great-great-great-great-grandchildren. Siegfried of Gorze and Peter Damian, in the mid-eleventh century, and Ivo of Chartres, around the year 1100, called illicit marriages in which there were less than seven generations back to the common ancestor.⁶

The reasons for these changes have been debated at length but are not fully understood; Germanic concepts of family relationships may have been a chief factor. The eleventh-century canonist Ivo of Chartres recognized the differences between the Roman and medieval methods of computing degrees and attributed the medieval method to an acceptance of the Old Testament definition of “generations.”⁷ Whatever their origin, the new methods of computing consanguinity deeply affected the medieval choice of spouse. These changes in the number of forbidden degrees and the method of calculating them meant that the number of potential unions considered incestuous increased exponentially; for every increase of one forbidden degree, the number of ancestors a potential couple might share more than doubled. Once consanguinity was thus understood, it was only a matter of time before everyone in a small group, such as the early medieval nobility, became too closely related to intermarry. The Roman and medieval methods of computing consanguinity are shown in Figure 3.1.

From the end of the ninth century through the eleventh, the clergy fulminated against the wickedness of incest and attempted to forbid or dissolve unions they considered incestuous. In the tenth century, Liudprand of Cremona highlighted the wickedness of the queen of Italy, “a second Jezebel,” by saying that she was related to the chaplain with whom she committed adultery. Already in the ninth century, King Lothair II had sought to obtain a divorce from his wife on the basis of trumped-up charges of not just adultery, but incestuous adultery. The abbot Siegfried of Gorze spoke of consanguineous unions as one of the evils that foretold the apocalypse, a “loss of reli-

cerned with avoiding consanguinity. Certainly the symbolism and sacral nature of the church's view of marriage had begun to affect the arrangement and ceremony of noble marriages by the tenth century.⁹ Yet it has often been debated whether secular nobles took consanguinity as seriously as did churchmen, even in the period before the twelfth century, when difficult marriages began to be dissolved by the "discovery" of a common ancestor. Many scholars have accepted the formulation of Georges Duby, whereby in the late tenth and eleventh centuries there were two separate and conflicting "models" of marriage, the ecclesiastical and the noble, and the nobility preferred endogamous unions that preserved family property.¹⁰

Indeed, it has sometimes been said that the church tried to impose a stringent ban against consanguinity on noble families in order to "control" them, forcing them to disperse their property,¹¹ but this cynical view does not accord with the evidence. Most obviously, of course, there was no such monolithic entity as "the" church, and most church leaders were themselves the brothers and cousins of secular nobles, more favorably disposed to their interests than otherwise. Additionally and most importantly, if noble families were principally interested in preserving their property rather than seeing it dispersed through marriages with outsiders, they would not have worried overmuch whether the church was forbidding marriages between sixth cousins or between second cousins; to keep property truly in the family, marriages between the closest possible relatives would have been necessary, ideally between brothers and sisters. This level of incest has been forbidden in virtually all human cultures in history, Christian or not. Rather than being merely an ecclesiastical prescription designed to control a reluctant secular society, the prohibition against consanguinity seems to have been something that laymen themselves also took seriously, at least in the period from roughly 900 to 1100.

There is indeed evidence that many nobles were acutely sensitive to the question of incest when arranging a marriage. Faced with a choice between defying the church's position and finding spouses to whom they were not related, the nobles of the tenth and eleventh centuries generally took the latter course. Blatantly consanguineous marriages rarely took place between about 900 and 1100, even when there were apparently strong inducements to arrange such matches.¹² Rather than practicing endogamy, the nobles of this period almost never married anyone related more closely than a fourth or fifth cousin—that is, someone related within five or six degrees—and here it may be argued that they were simply unaware of their relationship. First-cousin marriages were unknown, and the few second- and third-cousin marriages usually ended in divorce when the couples involved could no longer

tolerate the general opprobrium (as in the case of Robert II and Bertha of Burgundy, discussed below).¹³

Nobles were able to determine whether a prospective spouse was too closely related primarily through constructing and comparing family trees. The Synod of Ingelheim in 948 urged all Christians to make a list of their ancestors, to avoid accidentally marrying someone within the prohibited degrees: "Beware above all lest any Christian marry a woman related to him, but this type of union may be avoided when a list of ancestors can be recorded."¹⁴ Though certainly not all nobles drew up the type of genealogies this council recommended, such ancestor-lists subsequently became relatively common. In the early twelfth century Ivo of Chartres was able to announce that a proposed marriage was consanguineous, "not from conjecture, but because I have in my hands a written genealogy which the nobles of that family drew up and brought before ecclesiastical judges to be counted and approved."¹⁵ More than just reflecting ecclesiastical thinking, this letter shows noble initiative in going to the trouble of seeking to have a marriage "approved."

In the same period, when Henry I of England was attempting to arrange suitable marriages for his daughters, he and the proposed spouses drew up family trees to be compared—and Henry then decided against at least two marriages because both partners were descended from a forester whose name was not even remembered. In 1143/4, Celestine II again encouraged the parents, brothers and sisters, and other relatives of a potential couple to construct and compare a family tree to assure they were not related.¹⁶ That nobles should draw up such a *scripta genealogia* to have it approved—Ingelheim may have been endorsing a practice that was already common, not suggesting a new one—indicates strongly that consanguinity was not a matter of indifference to the medieval nobility.

The Marriages of the Capetian Kings

A striking example of the seriousness with which the highest nobility took the issue of consanguinity is provided by the Capetian kings of France.¹⁷ In the late tenth and eleventh centuries, they made repeated attempts to find and marry suitably elevated women who were not also their cousins. They considered it imperative to marry women of royal ancestry,¹⁸ but they carefully avoided marrying the daughters of the neighboring kings, the obvious choice, because all these women were too closely related to them. Moreover, even while these kings consistently attempted to find kings' daughters for

themselves, they began marrying their daughters to men whose families were not royal, and thus were much less likely to be their cousins.

Shortly after becoming king of France in 987, Hugh Capet began searching for a suitable bride for his son, Robert II.¹⁹ Since Robert was already consecrated as king, Hugh found it necessary to seek a girl of royal blood. There was an urgency in this search beyond that provided by mere snobbery in this period of still uncertain Capetian position. One of the arguments raised in 987 against the Carolingian pretender to the throne, Charles of Lorraine, had been that his wife was not of high noble blood, being only from the rank of knights, and that the French nobility would not submit to having a low-born woman made their queen: "Uxorem de militari ordine sibi imparem duxerit. Quomodo ergo magnus dux patietur de suis militibus feminam sumptam reginam fieri sibi que dominari?"²⁰ By contrast, Otto I of Germany, who had been crowned emperor in 962, had married a woman approvingly described in contemporary annals as having "royal grandparents and great-great-grandparents."²¹ Clearly Hugh had to find someone of similarly elevated rank to become his son's queen. The difficulty was that there were no suitable women in western Europe who were not also Robert's cousins.

In 988, Hugh had the scholar Gerbert compose a letter for him to the Byzantine emperor, asking for the hand of a Byzantine princess for Robert. "There is," the letter stated, "no one equal to him whom we can give him in marriage, because of our kinship with neighboring kings."²² As a glance at their family tree will show (Figure 3.2), the Capetian kings of France at the end of the tenth century were indeed first or second cousins of the last of the Carolingians, the Ottonian kings of Germany, the kings of imperial Burgundy, and (by affinity) the Anglo-Saxon kings of England. Thus, in the year in question, a Byzantine princess seemed the only alternative. King Otto II of Germany, faced with similar difficulties, had already married the niece of a Byzantine emperor fifteen years earlier.

But Robert did not take a Byzantine bride; there is no record that the emperor even answered Hugh's letter. The emperors were at any rate notorious for not allowing outside marriages for girls "born in the purple." Shortly after Hugh wrote to Constantinople, a woman closer to home became available: Rozalla-Susanna, daughter of King Berengar II of Italy. She had been married to the count of Flanders and was widowed in 988 (she is known as Susanna in the French sources and as both Rozalla and Susanna in the Flemish sources). Her royal birth and the fact that she was not Robert's cousin made her eminently suitable, indeed probably the only "suitable" noncousin then in western Europe. (They were actually fifth cousins, twice removed, as

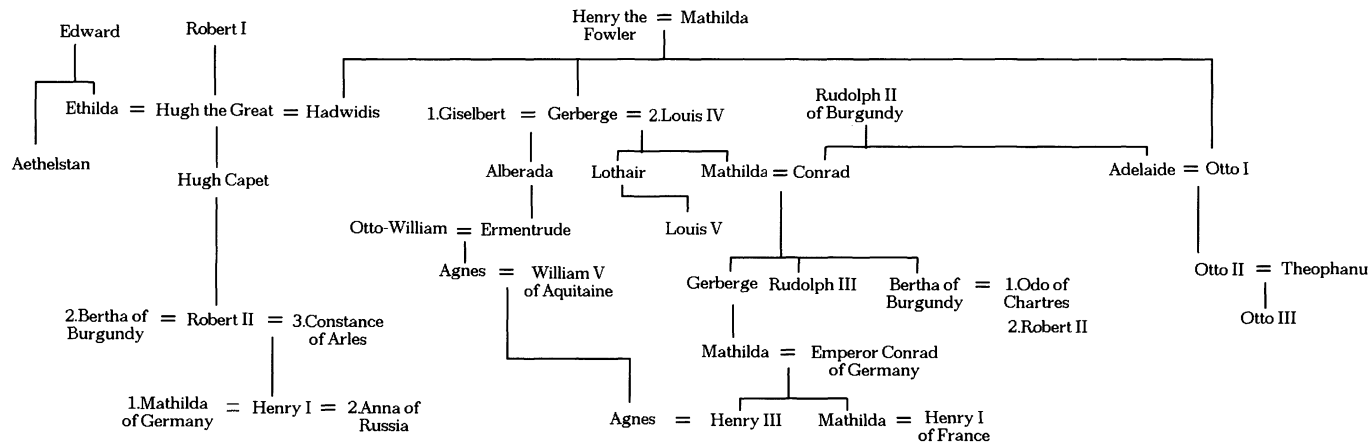


Figure 3.2. Relations among the royal families of western Europe at the end of the tenth century.

both were descended from Charlemagne. Technically therefore the marriage was just within the forbidden degrees, but they would have been considered unrelated, because no one at the time seemed either to know or to care that both the Capetians and the last kings of Italy were descended from Charlemagne, through women.) The only drawback to the match was that she was much older than Robert, perhaps twice his age: he was not yet twenty, while she had first been married before he was born and had a son old enough to assume the office of count of Flanders. Apparently because of this difference in age, Robert and Susanna were divorced after a few years; the date is not certain.²³ The search for a suitable bride then resumed.

In 996 Robert married Bertha of Burgundy, who had just been widowed by the death of Count Odo of Chartres. She was the daughter of the king of Burgundy and closer to Robert's age than Susanna, but she was one of the cousins Hugh Capet had considered too closely related to his son. Hugh himself seems to have objected to this marriage,²⁴ but his qualms were nothing compared to those of the ecclesiastical authorities. Over the next several years Popes Gregory V and Sylvester II and several councils pronounced anathema against Robert for his "incestuous" marriage, and Robert and Bertha were forced to separate.²⁵

It has been suggested that "tortuous diplomatic policy," especially the emperor's fear that Bertha's Carolingian blood would lead to expanded Capetian territorial claims, was more important than ecclesiastical pronouncements in ending this marriage.²⁶ However, the Capetians already had Carolingian blood, had Carolingian blood per se been the basis of territorial claims, which it was not at the beginning of the eleventh century. That this divorce on grounds of consanguinity was not simply a convenient way out for Robert and Bertha is indicated by the fact that Robert repeatedly attempted — perhaps even after he remarried — to rejoin Bertha.²⁷ Robert finally married Constance of Arles, who combined suitable nobility of birth, suitable age, and suitable distance of relationship from him; she was the daughter of Count William of Arles and of Adelaide-Blanche of Anjou, who, before marrying William, had been briefly married to Louis V, the last Carolingian king of France.²⁸ But Robert had still been forced to settle for a woman who was not a king's daughter.

Although Robert was finally able to find an acceptable wife, the search for spouses continued to be a problem for the French Capetian kings. They consciously avoided their royal cousins, but they still wanted to marry kings' daughters. Robert's son Henry I was first engaged to Mathilda of Germany, the daughter of Emperor Conrad, and Henry's distant cousin — they were not

as closely related as had been Robert and Bertha. The issue of consanguinity never arose, probably because the girl died young.²⁹ A number of years after her death, in 1051, the aging Henry married Anna of Russia, the daughter of Grand Duke Yaroslav of Kiev. Here at last was a royal bride (contemporary French sources called Yaroslav a king) unrelated to the western European kings. The need of western kings for such brides is demonstrated by the fact that Henry, who had long remained unmarried, finally took as his bride a girl of the very first generation of the grand dukes of Kiev whose religion made them acceptable spouses for western monarchs (since Yaroslav's father Vladimir had converted his people from paganism, Yaroslav's children were the first generation to be brought up as Christians). In the years immediately following, a number of western nobles also took Russian wives, including the emperor Henry IV, whose second wife Adelaide was a Russian princess.³⁰

In the next generation, the Capetians' difficulty in finding women to marry in the limited sphere of the royalty and upper nobility became insurmountable. Faced by a choice between marrying their cousins and marrying women who were not of royal blood, they found it necessary to take their wives from the families of counts rather than kings. Henry's son Philip I married, in 1069, Bertha of Frisia, the daughter of the count of Frisia and the adopted daughter of the count of Flanders. Though the counts of Flanders claimed descent from Charlemagne, Bertha herself had no kings in her ancestry, not even the tenuous link with the Carolingians that Constance of Arles had had from her mother's first marriage. Contemporary chroniclers made no attempt to give Bertha a status more exalted than that of a count's daughter, but as such she was now considered suitable.³¹ Some modern scholars have seen in Philip's marriage—and the marriage of his son Louis VI to the daughter of the count of Maurienne—a sign that the Capetians had lost their power, in the assumption that otherwise they would still have married royal princesses. It seems more accurate, however, to see in these alliances the expansion, under the pressures of necessity, of the size of the group that was considered to include suitable spouses for kings.

The marriages of the daughters of these kings in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries similarly suggest that an attempt to avoid consanguineous unions led to marriages with men of a variety of backgrounds. While the kings initially sought kings' daughters for their sons, they readily married their own daughters to men of less exalted ancestry. For example, at the same time as Robert II was marrying a series of kings' daughters, his sister Hadwidis married Count Rayner of Hainault. Of Robert's two daughters, one, Hadwidis, married Count Raynald of Nevers. Raynald of Nevers was of quite

recent status; he was the son of a castellan who had gained his county in return for loyalty to Duke Henry of Burgundy, Robert's uncle.³² Hadwidis's sister Adelaide married in succession two powerful but nonroyal nobles, the duke of Normandy and Count Baldwin V of Flanders. It is interesting to note that Baldwin was the grandson of Rozalla-Susanna; the failure of Robert's and Susanna's own marriage made this second union feasible, and the availability of this suitably exalted lineage was not neglected by Robert merely because of his own unfortunate experience.³³ Of the daughters of Philip I, Constance married Count Hugh of Troyes—and was forced to separate from him because they were related within four degrees—and then married Duke Bohemud of Antioch. The only Capetian daughter who married a king in the eleventh century was another Constance, the daughter of Duke Robert I of Burgundy, who married Alfonso VI of Castile, after the death of her first husband, Count Hugh II of Chalon—and her mother, Helias, was from the castellan family of the lords of Semur.³⁴

Like their brothers, these women took spouses who were not their social equals due to a shortage of noncousins among those who *were* their equals. There seems to have been some sort of double standard in that the women of the family married dukes and counts of more or less recent ancestry, while the men sought royal brides. Yet a common theme is provided by the avoidance of consanguineous unions, rendered easier for the women by the less stringent requirements for high birth, as opposed to present rank, in a spouse. Although of course the views of the Capetians and of the church on consanguinity did not entirely coincide—Robert clearly would have preferred to remain married to Bertha—their marriages show a consistent attempt to avoid marrying close relatives. When consanguineous marriages involving the Capetians ended in divorce in the eleventh century, it was against the pairs' wishes, rather than due to a contrived discovery of consanguinity when it became desirable to dissolve an unprofitable marriage.

The Avoidance of Consanguinity

The constant difficulties of the Capetian kings in finding suitable queens, far from being extraordinary, are indicative of the problems faced by all the western European nobility in their search for spouses in the tenth and eleventh centuries. If a member of the nobility could not find a social equal to whom he was not related, the only alternatives were to defy ecclesiastical prohibitions or else to marry someone from a lower social group. No other lineage

made as explicit a statement of policy as did Hugh Capet when he said he wanted a wife for Robert who was his social equal but not related to him. But such a policy is implicit in the marriages of many other noble lineages, as the following examples indicate, for nobles married women as close to them in status as possible without marrying their cousins.

It had been relatively common in the ninth century for two allies to cement their friendship with a double marriage, one man, for example, marrying as his second wife his ally's sister, while that ally married the man's daughter by his first wife.³⁵ Such unions would not, strictly speaking, be consanguineous, because neither pair of spouses shared a common ancestor, and the clerics who preached against incest never tried to dissolve them. A broad definition of affinity would have forbidden such unions, but neither the bishops nor the nobles themselves seem to have tried to avoid unions between those connected by affinity rather than blood. The point is that, after having bound themselves as tightly together through marriage as possible in one generation, allies would then wait a half dozen generations before members of the two lineages married again.³⁶

The eleventh-century counts of Burgundy provide a first example (see Figure 3.3). The members of this lineage usually married members of other comital and ducal lineages, but they rarely married their Burgundian neighbors. Count Otto-William of Burgundy (d. 1027), who founded his lineage's power, was the son of Adalbert, last king of Italy (the brother of Rozalla-Susanna), but he did not seek a king's daughter. Indeed, Adalbert himself had married the daughter of the first hereditary count of Chalon. Otto-William married a woman of a comital family,³⁷ whose maternal grandmother was the sister of Otto I, and with this marriage he and his descendants entered the web of alliances that made consanguineous any marriage between the kings of France, Germany, and Burgundy, or the Carolingians. Otto-William's children found spouses from families with as much power and authority as the counts of Burgundy, but they were from scattered areas of France. Count Raynald married the daughter of the duke of Normandy, Agnes the duke of Aquitaine, Gerberge the count of Arles, and Mathilda the count of Nevers.³⁸

That the counts of Burgundy, like the Capetians, would have preferred to marry other descendants of kings and perhaps people whose center of power was closer to their own is strikingly illustrated by the marriages of Otto-William's great-grandchildren, the children of Count William Tête-Hardi.³⁹ Of the seven children known to have married, three took spouses of Capetian ancestry: Sybil married Odo I, the Capetian duke of Burgundy;⁴⁰ Clemence married the count of Flanders whose grandmother was the daughter of Rob-

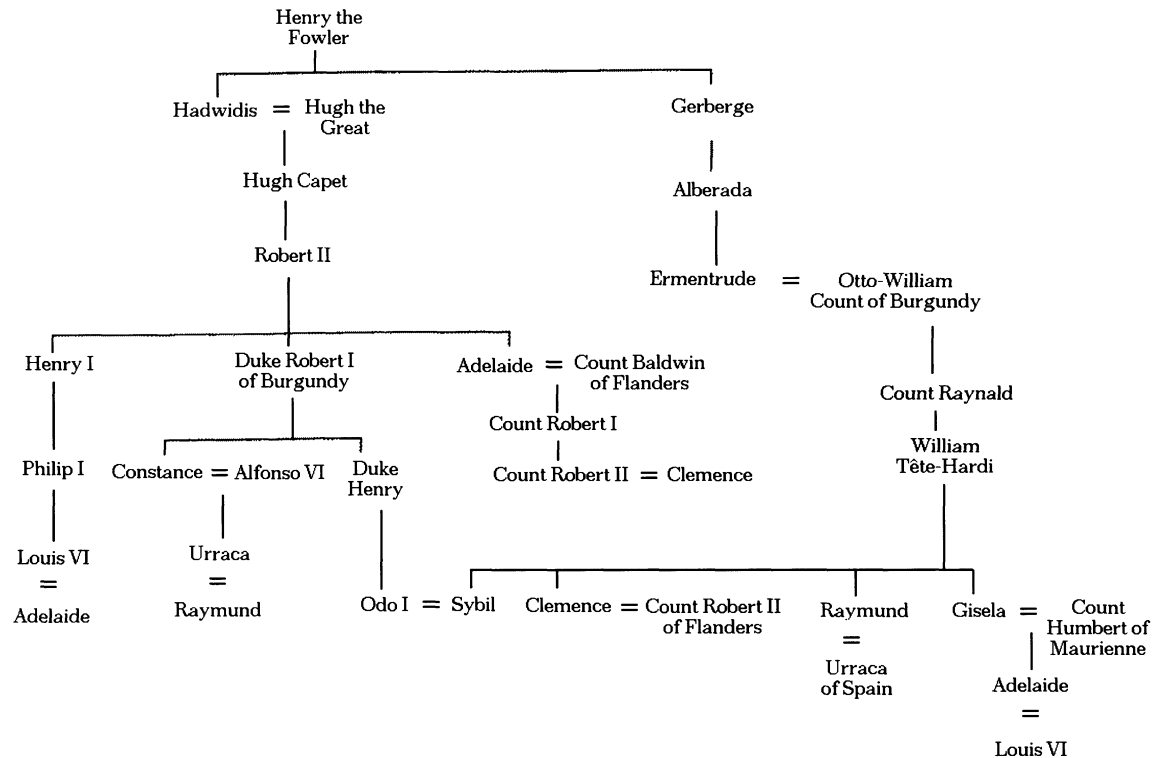


Figure 3.3. Marriages of the counts of Burgundy with the Capetians.

ert II; and Count Raymund married the daughter of the king of Spain and of the daughter of the first Capetian duke of Burgundy. After waiting close to a century, relatives of the counts of Burgundy had finally married relatives of the dukes of Burgundy, who would have always seemed their most logical marriage partners in terms of their comparable power and their geographical proximity.

That they were keenly aware of this logic is attested by the fact that they arranged these three separate marriages in the very first generation that they and the dukes had reached sufficient distance from Henry the Fowler and his prolific offspring to allow intermarriage without fear of incest. In fact, they seem to have anticipated by one generation, marrying those related to them within six degrees, but the marriages, while technically just within the forbidden degrees, were never challenged. The marriage of Clemence and the count of Flanders was actually consanguineous within five degrees through King Berengar II of Italy (father of Adalbert and Rozalla-Susanna), as well as within six degrees through Henry the Fowler, but no one seems to have noted this relationship at the time; the counts of Burgundy very quickly forgot their Italian ancestors. The other four children of William Tête-Hardi, like their predecessors, married counts without royal antecedents, from other parts of France, including Gisela's marriage to Humbert of Maurienne—by whom she had Queen Adelaide, Louis VI's wife, who completed the reunion of the Capetians and the counts of Burgundy.

The counts of Vermandois provide another example of a lineage which carefully avoided certain apparently desirable marriages for fear of consanguinity (see Figure 3.4). The tenth- and eleventh-century counts are unusual in that they were the direct male-line descendants of Charlemagne, yet they never gained the throne themselves. Rather, they supported the Capetians from the time that Odo had himself elected king of France in 888.⁴¹ Their alliance continued for nearly two hundred years (until the counts of Vermandois were extinguished in the male line), and it would have seemed logical for their alliance to be cemented by repeated marriages, but the two lineages only intermarried twice: Robert I married the daughter of Heribert I at the beginning of the tenth century, at the same time as Heribert married Robert's daughter by an earlier union, and then in the later eleventh century Hugh, brother of King Philip I, married the heiress of Vermandois. Like the counts of Burgundy, the counts of Vermandois waited six generations (one less than theoretically correct but apparently an acceptable period) to marry again into the lineage which political considerations alone would have made their most obvious source of marriage partners. In the intervening period, family mem-

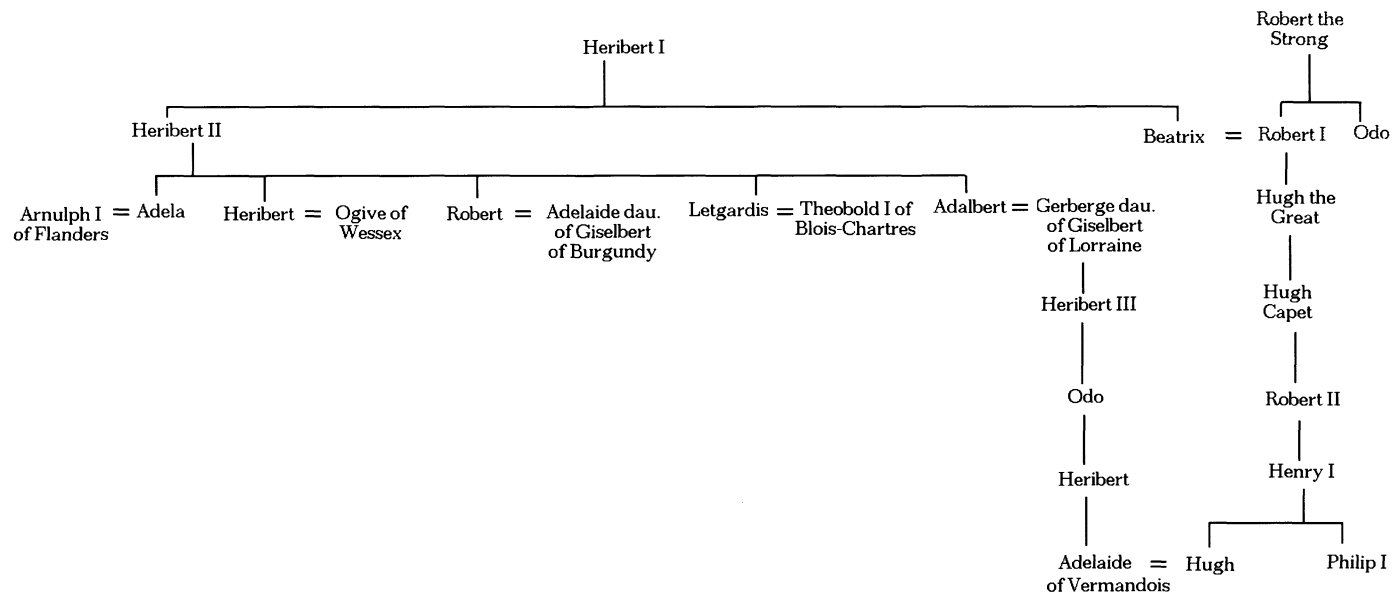


Figure 3.4. Marriages of the family of the counts of Vermandois in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

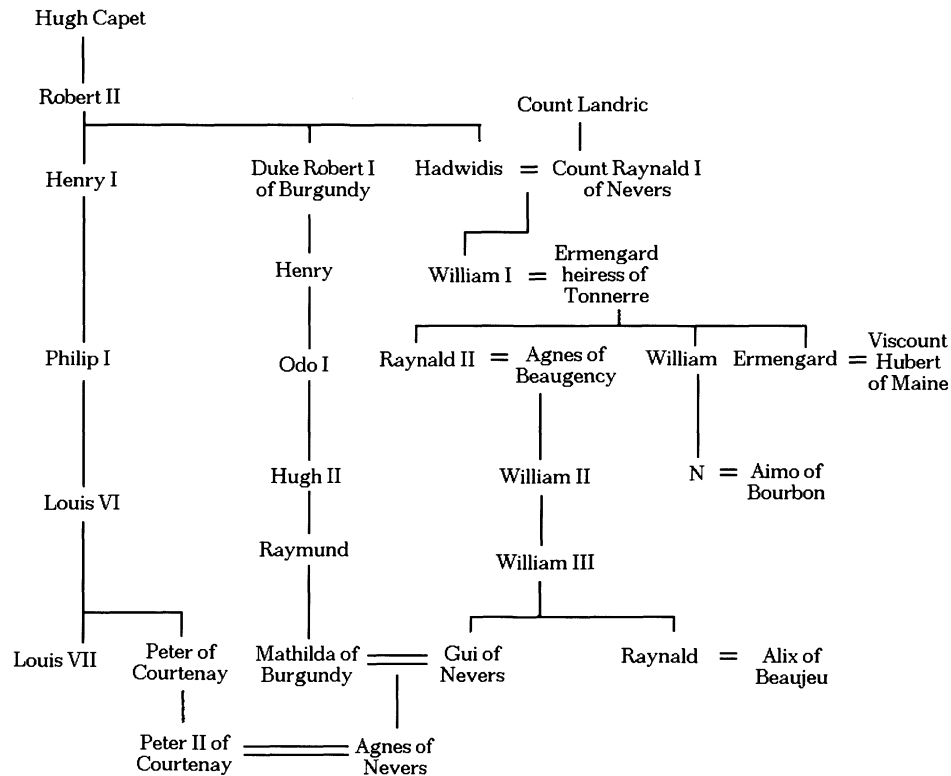


Figure 3.5. Marriages between the Capetians and the counts of Nevers in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

bers took their spouses from ducal and comital families of a variety of backgrounds and geographical locations, including the daughter of the king of Wessex, the daughter of the last of the tenth-century dukes of Burgundy, the daughter of the duke of Lorraine, the first hereditary count of Blois and Chartres, and the count of Flanders.⁴²

The counts of Nevers provide a final example of a lineage which waited six generations to marry again into the lineage of their allies (see Figure 3.5). Unlike the counts of Burgundy or Vermandois, they were new men in the male line, though Landric, first hereditary count of Nevers, married Otto-William's daughter himself and married his son to Robert II's daughter, as mentioned above, thus providing ancestors among the old aristocracy for his descendants. After these initial marriages, however, members of the family of the counts of Nevers made no further alliances with the counts of Burgundy and married members of the families of the Capetian kings (from whom they held Nevers in fief) or the Capetian dukes of Burgundy (from whom they held the county of Tonnerre) only in the latter part of the twelfth century.

Like the counts of Burgundy, the counts of Nevers, after waiting for six generations, had family members marry in quick succession the granddaughter of the duke of Burgundy and the grandson of Louis VI. In the meantime, they contracted marriages with men and women from families that ranged the spectrum from counts to viscounts and castellans, including the countess of Tonnerre, the daughter of the lord of Beaugency, the viscount of Maine, the lord of Bourbon, and the daughter of the lord of Beaujeu.⁴³ The counts of Nevers married closer to home than did the tenth- and eleventh-century counts of Vermandois, but this was because by the twelfth century these counts readily took spouses from the ranks of viscounts and castellans, while the eleventh-century counts of Vermandois married only members of other comital lineages.

Rather than saying that the church and the secular nobility held opposing views on the propriety of marrying relatives, it would seem more logical from the evidence to say that, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, nobles avoided most consanguineous marriages deliberately (at least those consanguineous within fewer than six degrees), knowing they would be unstable and endangered from the outset. The importance attached to this appears to have been sufficient in many instances to prevent the regular cementing of alliances by marriage, despite the clear political advantages of such a course. Given the severe dislocations which the uncovering of a consanguineous union could produce in the flow of alliances and property, a strategy of avoiding such unions perhaps makes more sense in the tenth and eleventh centuries than deliberate endogamy.

It might be argued that the great noble families who appear to have avoided marriages with those related within fewer than six degrees might in fact have been more closely related to their spouses if all cognate lines were considered.⁴⁴ The difficulty with this argument is that neither they nor modern scholars were aware of any such closer ties. Although some unrecognized blood relationships surely existed, if unrecognized these cannot have influenced the choice of spouse. Similarly, although it can be argued, against the idea that great nobles of the tenth and eleventh centuries were concerned about consanguinity, that a number of consanguineous unions took place in the ninth century,⁴⁵ this was both before the concept of “seven forbidden degrees” was fully formulated, and before the nobility became too concerned about such prohibitions.

Although by the twelfth century members of the French nobility seem to have been more prepared than their ancestors to defy the church in arranging their marriages—Constance of Castile, whom Louis VII married after divorcing Eleanor of Aquitaine, was even more closely related to him than was Eleanor⁴⁶—in the tenth and eleventh centuries most nobles sought out noncousins. And even in the twelfth century, many nobles made a concerted effort to avoid unequal marriages, when knights and burghers began to pose a challenge to the integrity of the noble class which viscounts and castellans had not posed a century earlier; but again they quickly encountered the problem of consanguinity. A well-documented example is provided by the nobility of Flanders after the disorders of 1127. Since the disorders were largely blamed on people from outside the nobility, nobles made a conscious effort to restrict future marriages to other nobles, but within a few generations they had to return to marrying burghers’ children, to avoid incest.⁴⁷ Thus, while twelfth-century nobles were not as concerned as the nobles of an earlier period about avoiding spouses related within seven degrees, consanguinity continued to be a factor in the choice of marriage partner.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, the noble attempt to find spouses for their children who were not related to them within the seven forbidden degrees (or six in practice) helped lead to marriages between men and women of different strata within the nobility. Though consanguinity was surely never as important an issue for the French nobility as it was for the ecclesiastics who were developing an idealized theory of marriage, it nevertheless made impossible a number of marriages that other considerations made highly desirable. Thus, previous marriages between lineages often impeded a union between a man from one royal lineage and a woman from another, or between

a man from one comital lineage and a woman from the lineage of his allies. Nobles frequently had to choose spouses for their children from distant geographical areas, or else marry them to those who were not strictly their equals. Women were expected to marry a social equal but often married someone below them; men tried to marry at least a social equal and aspired to marry someone above them.⁴⁸

As a result, although the nobility of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was stratified, in terms of their wealth and authority, into several different more or less powerful groups — the kings, the dukes and counts, the viscounts and castellans — the apparently distinct social strata within this hierarchy of ranks were actually united by numerous ties of marriage and kinship. As the sons and daughters of kings took spouses from the ranks of counts, and counts from the ranks of viscounts and castellans, the nobility became a closely interrelated assemblage in which a king's blood or a castellan's blood could be found almost anywhere within noble ranks.⁴⁹

In the previous chapter I argued that the expansion of the size of the nobility which took place in the tenth and eleventh centuries was due to the addition of new viscounts and castellans to the tiny elite of Charlemagne's time, as men who had originally been delegated power appropriated power for themselves and set the seal on their success by marrying women of longer-established noble families. The older nobility's desire to find for their daughters husbands to whom they were not already related helped relatively new men make advantageous marriages and confer exalted birth as well as wealth and power on their children. That the general acceptance of consanguinity as residing within seven forbidden degrees and the expansion of the noble class coincided so exactly in time cannot be only a coincidence.

The issue of consanguinity, then, significantly affected the noble choice of spouse in the early Middle Ages. It kept the Capetians from continually marrying women from other royal families of western Europe, as they would have preferred, and kept the counts of Burgundy, Vermandois, and Nevers from marrying their Capetian neighbors and allies for six generations. In the face of the church's prohibition against unions it considered incestuous, the nobility of the tenth and eleventh centuries either had to defy the church or else find suitable noncousins to marry. Although Robert II attempted to stay with Bertha of Burgundy, apparently even after he had married someone else, and Henry III managed to remain married to his cousin by persuading the German bishops that they were not in fact related, for the most part the nobility practiced exogamy. The men tried to marry their social equals, even if it meant finding their wives in Byzantium or Russia. The women, however,

frequently married men from families of less exalted authority or of more limited power than their fathers. By encouraging marriages between the different levels of the nobility, the issue of consanguinity not only influenced a noble's choice of spouse but also affected the structure of the noble class. Far from representing isolated and endogamous units, different noble lineages were all tied together through their marriages—marriages about which they had to remain aware down through the generations, in order to avoid consanguinity.

FOUR

Family Structure and Family Consciousness in the Ninth Through Eleventh Centuries

THERE CAN BE NO QUESTION that the period from the ninth to eleventh centuries in western Europe was one of political upheaval and change for the aristocracy. Charlemagne's empire was invaded, fought over, divided into new kingdoms and principalities. Even the sorts of men who wielded power changed, as discussed in the preceding chapters, when new lineages, first of counts and then of castellans, appeared and married into previously established lines.

This political change, scholars have generally agreed, was accompanied by some sort of change in the family structure of the aristocracy, but there has been a good deal of debate over exactly what this change entailed. In this chapter I reexamine the question of noble family structure in this period, attempting first to define some of the parameters of the discussion and then making suggestions on the nature of the changes in family consciousness, suggestions quite different from the conclusions many have drawn in the last generation or so. I do so using concrete examples drawn from two different lineages or family groups. These are the Carolingians, whose power and authority was unquestioned from the eighth century on, and the dukes of Septimania and Aquitaine, one of the few well-documented nonroyal lineages that can be traced throughout the ninth and early tenth centuries, and which has been taken as a *stirps classicus* of west Frankish society.¹ The Bosonids, who tried with greater or lesser success to become kings and emperors in the ninth and tenth centuries, form a third example, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

Recent studies of medieval family consciousness, usually relying on the classic work of Karl Schmid,² have drawn the conclusion that in the Carolingian age family structure was quite diffuse, involving a large, horizontally

organized group of cousins, both agnates and cognates, all alive at the same time (a *Sippe* in German), and that only after the year 1000 did a vertically organized, patrilineal form of family structure (*Geschlecht*) become common. This “Schmid-thesis” has grown beyond the rather modest suggestions of Schmid himself to become in the hands of other scholars a description of a radical change in consciousness.³ French and American as well as German scholars have generally taken it as an accepted model, which they have then applied to other areas and families than those Schmid studied.⁴ The British, however, have been more cautious in accepting some of the aspects of the Schmid-thesis.⁵

As I shall argue in this chapter, when new families were coming to power in the ninth and tenth centuries, their goal (not uniformly achieved) was always to establish their wealth and inheritance on a patrilineal basis. As a model for such organization, they had the Carolingians, patrilineal from the time of Charlemagne.⁶ I shall seek to demonstrate that actual family organization is not necessarily the same as family consciousness, and that a shift from a consciousness of a *Sippe* to an orientation toward a *Geschlecht* around the year 1000 is too limited a description of the complex structurings and restructurings of aristocratic families that took place between the ninth and eleventh centuries.

Part of the problem in discussing the “Schmid-thesis” has always been a shifting definition of terms (probably more diffuse than family structure itself ever was); the *Sippe* has been described both as a concrete entity, which can be treated as a unit by modern scholars, and as a shifting agglomeration of people, where every difficulty in determining what constituted a clan is seen as proof of its amorphous nature. For example, it is far too common for scholars to attach a “leading name” to a group of relatives, which naming immediately makes them into a distinct entity, but then to say that exactly how different members of this hypothetical group were connected cannot be determined.⁷

In the following discussion it must be kept in mind that one’s “family” was never the totality of people to whom one was related. The ruling aristocracy of the Carolingian era were all related to some degree, with men newly come to power marrying the daughters of more well-established lords as soon as they became at all established themselves, as discussed above in Chapter 3. But neither people of the time nor modern scholars would consider the aristocracy as all one family. Brothers and sisters, parents and children were certainly always viewed as part of one’s family, but people related more distantly

might or might not be. Since medieval people did not make convenient lists of those they considered members of their families for the edification of modern scholars, one must try to gain insights into how they perceived these families through patterns of alliance, of naming, and of inheritance. In the ninth century as in the twelfth, there was a large group of people to whom one might acknowledge that one was related, but one would only act in concert with, name one's children for, or designate as heirs people from a subgroup of this total group of relatives. It is with the question of how this specific subgroup was defined that I shall here be concerned.

Patrilineage as Seen by a Woman

Before debating the modern theories of medieval family structure, I shall turn to one of the rare works written in the ninth or tenth centuries that directly addresses the issue of family consciousness. This treatise, the *Liber manualis* written by Bernard of Septimania's wife Dhuoda between 841 and 843, is an especially valuable contribution to our knowledge of how people of the time viewed their families. It was written by a woman, someone who would be acutely sensitive of family structures and obligations because she herself would have shifted from one family to another at the time of her marriage.⁸ Significantly, Dhuoda writes extensively about her husband's family in her *Manual*, while her own natal family is unacknowledged and unknown.⁹

Dhuoda's husband Bernard comes in the middle of the six known generations of dukes of Septimania and Aquitaine which form the focus of this discussion. They did not actually hold these offices for their entire history, but calling them this collectively at least distinguishes them from other contemporary lineages. (For this family, see Appendix A.)

The first known family member was Count Theoderic, who lived in the second half of the eighth century and served as a royal *missus*. His son William may have founded and certainly entered the Benedictine house of Gellone (and was called Saint William by later generations); William's son, Bernard of Septimania, was the trusted chamberlain of Louis the Pious and one of the most powerful men of the empire, but was put to death for treason in 844 by Louis's son Charles the Bald; Bernard's second son and eventual heir, Bernard of Aquitaine and Auvergne, began his career in rebellion against Charles the Bald but finished as one of the king's trusted counselors; his son, William the Pious of Aquitaine, married Angilberga, daughter of King Boso (thus at-

taching himself to a star then rising in competition with the Carolingians), and is best known for founding the abbey of Cluny in 909; and *his* son Boso predeceased his father, after which the duchy of Aquitaine went first to the short-lived sons of William the Pious's sister and then to the unrelated counts of Poitiers.

Dhuoda wrote her *Manual* as a work of moral instruction for William, the older of the two sons born to her and to Bernard of Septimania. At the time that she wrote, William was sixteen years old and living, separate from his mother, at the court of Charles the Bald. Throughout the work there is an enormous stress laid on the boy's father and on the father's relatives, which is especially striking as Dhuoda does not refer to her own relatives at all. The only time that she could even be alluding to them is when she refers to the dead members of young William's *genealogia* and the living members of his *stirps*, giving a list of people who are known from other sources to be William's paternal grandparents, aunts, and uncles, and then adds the names Guarnarius and Rotlindis. Some scholars have speculated that these were Dhuoda's own parents.¹⁰ But other than this possible mention, Dhuoda gives all the attention to her husband, his relatives, and her son's adherence to them.

Much of the reason why Dhuoda emphasized William's paternal relatives, she makes clear, was that William's inheritance came from them. "Pray for the relatives of your father, who left him their goods by lawful inheritance," she urged him. These relatives, she says with approval, left their inheritance to William's father, not to "strangers."¹¹ Though Dhuoda also said that William should honor and obey the king, this was only after a long section stressing how necessary it was to be an obedient son. A rise to authority, she said, could only come from one's father, adding that William should love his father second only to God, with many biblical allusions to those who were rewarded for honoring their fathers.¹²

In part, of course, Dhuoda surely stressed obedience to one's father over obedience to the king because William was actually at the court of Charles the Bald, and she did not want her son turned against his father, Bernard of Septimania, by his current associates.¹³ Bernard, who had been considered a principal enemy by the sons of Louis the Pious when they rebelled against their father, had announced his support for Charles the Bald after Louis's death and entrusted his son to Charles, essentially as a hostage for his loyalty. That Bernard was executed at Charles's command a little over a year after Dhuoda finished her *Manual* indicates that she was correct in fearing that

the court was watching Bernard with suspicion as a possible traitor. In such an atmosphere it would have been all too easy for a sixteen-year-old to put loyalty to his king before loyalty to his father.¹⁴

Regardless of these political considerations, however, Dhuoda's work provides a clear picture of one sort of family consciousness. The *genealogia* or *stirps* she described to her son, the small group of relatives to whom he owed obedience, from whom he would inherit, and to whose memory he owed honor, was defined entirely in terms of Bernard of Septimania and his closest blood-kin. The members of the group were Bernard's parents, his brothers and sister, and his sons, that is, young William himself and his infant brother. The group included both the living and the dead. It only extended backward in time one generation before Bernard, and thus can scarcely be considered a long-lasting lineage, yet it is certainly not a diffuse group, for the boundaries are clearly drawn. Although some scholars have suggested that Dhuoda's *Manual* indicates that in the ninth century the *parentes* was a horizontal grouping of relatives and allies, men and women, siblings and cousins, not clearly distinguished from each other,¹⁵ this assessment is incorrect. The only possible people in it who are not directly related to Bernard are those named Guarnarius and Rotlindis, if they are Dhuoda's own parents—which is far from certain—and, since Dhuoda herself would certainly want prayers for them, their inclusion is not surprising.

This "family," centered on William's father, it should be noted, did not include everyone for whom Dhuoda thought that William should pray or whom he should respect. Besides the king himself, she said he should love the king's own *parentes* and *propinqui* as well as the dukes and counselors at court, and should pray for his own faithful servants when they died. Nor was she unaware of a man's maternal relatives, for she noted that King Charles, as well as many others at court, had acquired nobility from both their mothers and their fathers.¹⁶ The topos, "born of a *progenia* of great nobility on both sides," which continued to be a commonplace throughout the Middle Ages, indicates an awareness that there were two sides to one's origins and should be seen as an attempt to *distinguish* between them, not to indicate a lack of differentiation between them.

The picture of a "family" that emerges, then, from Dhuoda's work is a small group, organized around one's father, a group of people from whom one inherits. The group did not include everyone with whom one might be a cousin, nor all the lords and servants for whom one might pray, but it was the primary group she thought one ought to honor and remember. It was

not simple affection for her husband that influenced Dhuoda, for she seems in fact to have been the victim of what would now be considered mistreatment, if not indeed abuse. Her husband was widely rumored to be having an affair with the queen, and he had left her to her own devices only a few days after their second child was born and taken the baby with him.¹⁷ Indeed, Dhuoda herself in her *Manual* took on the voice of the father from the Book of Proverbs, saying, "Hear me admonishing you, listen to and obey the teachings of your father."¹⁸ Even though she believed her husband had abrogated his paternal moral authority, which she thus had to take up, young William could not turn away from his blood relationship with his father and his kin. Thus, although Dhuoda was herself a woman, she knew it was the male line, her husband's line, which was vital for her son, and she directed the boy's attention firmly toward it.

Male-line inheritance continued to be important for the descendants of Dhuoda and Bernard of Septimania. Bernard named their sons William and Bernard, for his father and for himself (since Dhuoda did not know the name of her second son, taken from her before baptism, it is clear that Bernard of Septimania and not she named him). The couple's older son, William, for whom Dhuoda wrote her manual, followed his father's footsteps to the point that he too was considered dangerous by Charles the Bald and was executed himself in 850. This happened after he had tried to reclaim the county of Barcelona, which had once been his father's.

William died without heirs of his own, but his younger brother Bernard (later known as Bernard Plantapilosa), though he was only three years old when their father was killed, remembered both his father's inheritance and the injustices his father had suffered. He first appears in the *Annales Bertiniani* in 864, fighting the king in an attempt to avenge his father.¹⁹ Bernard Plantapilosa, however, had served Charles the Bald before this rebellion and received *honores* from him. He eventually became reconciled with the king to such an extent that he became a trusted counselor, as his father had once been for Louis the Pious, and through this service to the king and such expedients as killing the marquis of Toulouse in 872 and taking his *honores*, he established a substantial inheritance which he was able to leave to his own son, William the Pious (whom he named either for his grandfather or for his brother). This careful building up of a patrilineal dynasty, reflected in names and inheritance and carried out in the face of overwhelming political difficulties for five generations, had here reached its apex but was finally ended when the last William's son predeceased him. His nephews claimed the duchy of Aquitaine but soon died as well, and Aquitaine went to the counts of Poitiers.²⁰

Patrilinear Consciousness

Far from being an amorphously organized group, the dukes of Septimania and Aquitaine represent a determinedly patrilinear line, who always attempted to define themselves by the inheritance of their fathers and the inheritance they would have liked to leave to their sons. Although it has been suggested that they were not a patrilinear dynasty because they never “crystallized” around one central castle or place that was routinely inherited from father to son,²¹ this seems rather unfair, for they were certainly attempting to do so, and the lack of regular inheritance was due to the impact of political events, not to their intentions or strategies. Their names and inherited quarrels certainly show a consciousness that went beyond biological continuity, even in the absence of a family stronghold.

They were, moreover, not alone in their concept of the family, for there were several other patrilinear dynasties in place by the end of the eighth century. The Carolingians, much better documented than any other family group of the time, are an instructive example here, for they served both as a model for what many other lineages of the ninth and tenth centuries would have liked to achieve, and as the chief obstacles and competition for these lineages and their ambitions. Although the objection might be raised that a royal family is not representative of the upper nobility in general, the majority of men we refer to as Carolingians were never kings themselves, and even the kings were closely tied by blood and marriage to other members of the aristocracy. Since both the Ottonians and the Capetians have been used as examples to argue for a horizontal *Sippe* organization, it seems only appropriate to use other royal examples in arguing the opposite view. The Carolingians’ preeminent political position should therefore not preclude studying their family consciousness in order to gain insights into other less well-documented families. While the Carolingians were distinguished in the first part of the ninth century—though not in the later ninth century or in the tenth—from other lineages in that they produced the only anointed kings on the western Continent, their family structure can still be seen as a reflection of the general concept of family structure among the upper aristocracy.

The Carolingians were always oriented toward their patrilinear relatives,²² and it would be a mistake to consider them a large clan, even an agnatic one. Rather, the people we now call Carolingians were organized into an array of patrilinear dynasties, emanating from Charlemagne like spokes on a wheel. It has been suggested that the Carolingians were not patrilineally organized,²³ but this argument confuses primogeniture with agnatic inheritance. A man

could intend his inheritance for his sons, and those sons identify themselves with their father rather than with other kin, without any presupposition that the oldest son should take precedence.

The separate dynasties that constituted Charlemagne's descendants were often each other's bitterest enemies, and if a Carolingian king died without an heir, a man who was not descended directly from Charlemagne was at least as likely to be chosen to succeed him as the Carolingian head of another kingdom. This rivalry between the separate dynasties indicates that descent from a common ancestor was not enough to establish any sort of larger "family feeling" when it came to the all-important questions of inheritance or often even alliance. For these purposes, the "family" was a very small group, consisting of a man, his sons, his father, and probably his paternal grandfather. His brothers and uncles were, in many cases, not part of the group, or were so only intermittently, because brothers and paternal uncles were the chief competition for what Carolingian men considered their rightful inheritance. Brothers always disagreed on which of them was the rightful heir, the only one who could legitimately consider himself the continuator of their father's family.

When Carolingian men were naming their children, however, they identified them with a slightly larger group, which did include their brothers and paternal uncles. Since the Carolingian kings almost never let their sons marry or even contract long-term alliances while they were still alive themselves,²⁴ it is clear that children's names were chosen for them by their parents, not their grandparents. However, one cannot speak in a general way of the Carolingians simply giving their children "names traditional within the family," for they still named them for quite specific relatives within a narrow circle.²⁵ Once the Merovingian names Clovis and Clothair became Carolingian names, as Louis and Lothair, names that Charlemagne gave the twin sons born after he became king,²⁶ the kings routinely named their legitimate (and most of their illegitimate) sons for themselves, their fathers and paternal grandfathers, and their brothers. Indeed, after Charlemagne himself, Carolingian men further restricted the name pool for their legitimate sons by giving them only the names of previous kings.²⁷ With rare exceptions, they did not give any of their sons names held by cousins, by ancestors more distant than their own grandfathers, or by any maternal relatives.

As discussed further in Chapter 6, even a man's daughters were named virtually exclusively for paternal relatives, for their father's mother, paternal (not maternal) grandmother and aunts, and his sisters. Although the Carolingian kings surely had at least some daughters who are not named in the

sources, it is very unlikely that the ones who died young or were neglected by contemporary records were preferentially named for their maternal relatives; it seems most likely that these unknown daughters, like the daughters who are known over a span of five generations, were overwhelmingly named for close paternal relatives. A girl *might* be named for her own mother, but the oldest daughter was never so named; Charlemagne, for example, named one daughter Hildegard, for his wife, but the girl was the last child (fifth daughter) born to this woman.²⁸

The family group suggested by the names the Carolingians gave their children is a small one. It consisted of a man, his children, his parents, his father's parents, and his own brothers and sisters; his wife was also included, somewhat peripherally, but not any of her own relatives. The family was thus patrilineal in that a man considered his own parents and his paternal but not his maternal grandparents part of the group, and there were occasionally indications of a consciousness of a series of generations of kings, but for the most part it involved only two generations. The Carolingians now seem like a long dynasty in part because each two-generational patricentered unit was succeeded by another one, as sons grew up and consciously identified themselves, their sons, and their daughters with the siblings, parents, and grandparents who had identified themselves with the preceding one and two generations.

The patrilineal organization of the Carolingians served as a model for the other powerful men who sought to become king themselves in the later ninth and the tenth centuries.²⁹ The Bosonids, the Welfs, the Ottonians, and the Capetians all had the goal, more or less achieved, of establishing a center of power that their sons could inherit in an orderly fashion. One aspect of the behavior of the founders of such lineages has however been a source of confusion for scholars. Such ascents were never immediately successful, and family members always began their rise to power not by insisting on patrilineal relatives but rather by using whatever ties with the Carolingians they could engineer. These ties included both those of service and of marriage. Rising men were willing to exploit such connections for the purpose of gaining power, but they applied much more stringent definitions of "family membership" when the gains of one generation were to be passed on to the next.

Thus one might consider that such families were patrilineal in their hopes for the future, but they were willing to use every family connection, paternal or otherwise, to help them set up what they hoped would be a patrilineal dynasty. This suggests then that, rather than there being a change around the year 1000 in family consciousness, there was always a distinc-

tion made between one's male-line ancestors and descendants and a broader kindred. Although ambitious men might take whatever they could from the broader kindred throughout the ninth and tenth centuries, it was always with the intention of passing it to their male-line sons. Perhaps the year 1000 was not so much a time of changing family structure as a time when the families that were going to be powerful in the eleventh century had finished establishing themselves, and therefore no longer needed to reach out to a broader group of relatives, as their success was already assured.

Germanic "Clans"

Previous discussions of the nature of family structure in the ninth through eleventh centuries have generally been based, implicitly or explicitly, on the virtually universal assumption that early Germanic society, including the ancestors of the west Franks, was organized into closed kindreds or clans. Such clans, often described using terms borrowed from anthropology and originally used to describe very different African or American Indian societies, are assumed to have continued in some form until the development of the much narrower patrilineal families of the eleventh century. However, the very meticulous study by Alexander Callander Murray of the literary evidence for such a view (especially the romanticized views of a simpler and nobler society produced by Caesar and Tacitus) and the Germanic law codes has revealed that there is no basis for the assumption that the corporate or collective clan was ever the constituent unit of Germanic society. Murray argues instead that the basic Frankish kin group was a series of interlocking, bilateral relationships, with the first emphasis on one's children.³⁰

Ironically, although adherents of the "Schmid-thesis" have used without question the idea of a corporate clan structure in early medieval society, they have taken it for granted that such a clan involved agnates and cognates indiscriminately, whereas the traditional view of early Germanic kinship, which Murray has now cast into doubt, is that the large clan groupings were based overwhelmingly on patrilineal or patrilateral relationships.³¹ Thus, if one accepts the traditional view of Germanic society, the Schmid-thesis would have to postulate a breakdown of the agnatic principle in late antiquity, not to be reconstituted before the tenth or eleventh century, while Murray's views of the Frankish kin group as a very small unit would require the development of large clans between classical times and the eighth century in order to support the Schmid-thesis.

For German scholars, the question has been further confused by an attempt to make great families into concrete expressions of the will or even self-government of the indigenous people of their regions. Gerd Tellenbach's pioneering work on the imperial aristocracy of the ninth century, which first convincingly demonstrated that counts appointed by the emperors, rather than "stem dukes," constituted the government and the political foci of their time, still took it for granted that, both earlier and later, the "stem duchy," based on a patrilineal clan, was the chief political unit, an attitude which still prevails.³²

It seems more reasonable to assume that, when Germanic peoples came into contact with the Romans, they were not organized into clans which also functioned as settlement, inheritance, and war units, but rather were aware of their relationship with both maternal and paternal relatives, to a distance of perhaps second cousins, and acted in concert with different subsets of these relatives at different times, depending on circumstances. With its emphasis on father and children, the Germanic family already had a few elements of later patrilineal organization, which were greatly strengthened from at least the eighth century onward, if indeed the process did not begin in the documentary darkness of the sixth and seventh centuries.

Names, Prayers, and Closeness to Kings

When one speaks of changes in family structure or family consciousness in this period, one must do so in the context of changes in the political fortunes of individual families. The examples of the dukes of Aquitaine and the Carolingians suggest that there was a distinction drawn in the ninth and tenth centuries between a larger group, consisting of all the people to whom one knew oneself to be in some way related, and a smaller group, one's real "family," the group from which one inherited, after which one named one's children, and with which one was closely allied. The narrow family unit was overwhelmingly patrilineal, even though there was little consciousness of a lineage stretching backward in time, usually no more than two or three generations. It would seem then that the scholars who have argued for an amorphous *Sippe* before the year 1000 have confused the larger group of known relatives (which in fact usually included most of western Europe's upper aristocracy) with the narrow family unit, within which loyalty was expected and power and property were inherited.³³

Part of the confusion is doubtless due to an overreliance on *libri memo-*

riales as evidence of family consciousness.³⁴ The aristocracy of the ninth and tenth centuries had their names inscribed with some frequency in monastic memorials. Usually an entire group would be recorded together, and their late parents and cousins might be recorded along with them. For example, at the beginning of the tenth century, the emperor Louis the Blind was recorded in the *liber memorialis* of Remiremont along with his brother-in-law, William the Pious of Aquitaine; Louis's mother; his uncle Richard with his wife; and Richard's nephew Manasses with *his* wife. Similarly, King Henry the Fowler was inscribed in the *libri memoriales* of St.-Gall and Reichenau about the same time along with his wife, their children, his father, and her parents, brother, and sisters. This collective inscription has been taken as an example of the diffuse family consciousness of the time.³⁵

But being interested in someone's spiritual welfare is not the same as considering them part of one's family group. Throughout the Middle Ages, nobles asked monks to pray for their lords, their servants, their vassals, and their friends as well as their families. Dhuoda, as noted above, wanted her son to pray for his servants, though they were certainly not part of his *genealogia*. No one expected William the Pious to take up his brother-in-law's campaigns in Italy when Louis was blinded, even though they were recorded together in Remiremont's *liber memorialis*. Henry the Fowler did not give any of his sons or daughters names to identify them with his wife's relatives, even though these relatives were inscribed in two memorial books with him.³⁶ Nor did he share any of his power or inheritance with them. The relatives with whom Henry identified himself and his children in these crucial matters were a small, discrete subgroup of all of those for whom he wanted prayers to be offered.

Additionally, the evidence that men like Bernard of Septimania used *Königsnähe*, or closeness to the kings, to further their careers can be used as an argument *against* as well as for the idea of large clans in the ninth century. Adherents of the Schmid-thesis have argued that the fact that many nobles rose to power only with royal favor, in the ninth and tenth centuries, shows that male-line inheritance was of secondary importance in amorphous clans,³⁷ but the evidence can also be read another way. If such men had had large kin groups on which to rely, they would not have needed the kings' support.³⁸ When, for political purposes, their "family" consisted of little more than their dead grandfathers and fathers, from whom they took their inheritance (or, in the case of Bernard Plantapilosa of Aquitaine, from whom they took their grievances), their sons, who they hoped would inherit far greater properties from them, and their brothers, always potential if not real rivals, then

these men had to find other sources of support. In the royal court they could mingle with the most powerful men of the kingdom, hope for a royal bride, and build up real power of their own, but they never confused the court with their family.

It should also be noted that, given the patchy nature of the sources on family relations in the ninth and tenth centuries, a modern scholar may often end up with several people who seem, on the basis of geography and names, to be closely related, without being able to fit them into a coherent family tree. But it would be misguided to conclude that they were all members of a large, ill-defined “clan.” Gaps in the evidence cannot be redefined as evidence for amorphous kindred groupings. As the documentation is much better for the eleventh century than for the tenth, modern scholars must beware of mistaking changes in the ability to sort out the relationships in a complex kindred for a change in that kindred.³⁹

The fact that Bernard Plantapilosa of Aquitaine lived at the same time as at least two (if not more) other men named Bernard, all of whom wielded power in the Aquitaine-Auvergne-Toulouse-Gothia region, without being closely related, if at all, indicates that one cannot simply assume family relationships (the problem of the “three Bernards” is discussed more fully in Appendix A). One cannot use name similarities to construct amorphous “clans” out of the various people in the early medieval records any more than one should use these name similarities to construct agnatic family trees. Although property was certainly not always inherited in a smooth manner from father to son in this rather anarchic period, one also cannot assume that lack of such smooth inheritance shows that ninth- and tenth-century fathers had no such goal in mind.

Another difficulty with the “Schmid-thesis” of family consciousness is that it presumes that such consciousness would have been reflected in family members taking the *cognomen* of the family castle or stronghold. (For *cognomina*, see also below, Chapter 9.) Because *cognomina* did not become common until the eleventh century, it is assumed that families had no foci on which to pin patrilineal consciousness until this point. However, the inheritance of property from father to son—even against difficult odds, as in the case of the dukes of Aquitaine—long before family members were given a *cognomen* identifying them with this property, the giving of personal names which identified a boy closely with his paternal relatives (and not in a general way with a large clan), and the tendency for the *cognomen* to vary with person and circumstances, even in the eleventh century, all suggest that adoption of *cognomina* cannot be taken as a turning point in family consciousness. It is

possible that *cognomina*, adopted at precisely the point that the number of different personal names in use dropped sharply, may have been used to distinguish different men with the same personal name *from* each other, rather than to identify different members of the same family *with* each other. Indeed, the repeating of such names as William and Bernard within a lineage, when there were a very large number of names from which parents could theoretically have chosen, indicates that such a restriction in the naming pool was deliberate. Personal names, then, seem to provide better evidence than *cognomina* for family consciousness in this period.

The change that some scholars have seen around the year 1000 thus should not be seen as proceeding from a change in family consciousness so much as from a general subsiding of the political upheavals of the preceding two centuries. The eleventh century, with its castles, *cognomina*, improved records, and widespread spiritual reform, was certainly a different world from the ninth and tenth centuries, but a lower level of violence rather than the sudden appearance of patrilineal family structure was behind these changes. The decline in wars and invasions that made the preaching of the Peace of God even thinkable at this time⁴⁰ also made it much commoner for lineages to hold onto the same office or piece of property over the generations, thus making it easier for modern scholars (and probably their contemporaries) to “place” a family. Most of the families that were going to rise to power in the west had already done so; therefore one no longer had in the eleventh century, at least among the counts and dukes, the practice of naming one’s children for the more powerful lords to whom one had attached oneself as a stepping stone toward power.

Some scholars have noted that, especially in Germany and southern France, the “new sort” of patrilineal consciousness developed later than Schmid had postulated, with families emphasizing maternal as well as paternal kin well into the twelfth century.⁴¹ This need not mean that these areas were somewhat backward psychologically, but rather that in these areas there were still opportunities for men without powerful paternal relatives to try to rise to power. The change in how noble families were structured seems less dependent on time or mental constructs than on the fluctuations of circumstances. If indeed there was some difference in the way aristocrats perceived their families in the High Middle Ages compared to previous centuries, this different perception was not the *cause* of their passing an inheritance in an orderly way to their patrilineal descendants, as adherents of the Schmid-thesis have maintained, but rather the *result* of their ability to do so. And, as the

examples of the dukes of Aquitaine, the Carolingians, and the Bosonids all indicate, the aristocracy had long been attempting to make such inheritance a reality. Therefore, I would conclude that there was no revolution in family consciousness among the upper aristocracy at the end of the tenth century, but rather a change in the aristocracy's success rate in achieving what they had been striving for over the preceding two hundred years.

FIVE

The Bosonids, Rising to Power in the Late Carolingian Age

THE CAROLINGIAN AGE, that is the ninth and tenth centuries, was a period in which several powerful lineages rose rapidly to power and to a royal or even imperial title—and often lost that power again nearly as rapidly. Besides the Carolingians themselves, these lineages included the early Capetians, the Rudolphian kings of Burgundy, the Berengarian kings of Italy, the Ottonians in Germany, and, in Provence, the Bosonids.

The Bosonids are not nearly as well known to modern scholars as are the other family groups mentioned above. And yet, in spite of their rather amusing-sounding name, the Bosonids were the most successful in the short run in their rise to power of any lineage of their time, producing the first non-Carolingian king on the western continent in over a century when Boso became king of Provence in 879. In this chapter, I shall examine this relatively neglected group of relatives, tracing the military, territorial, and matrimonial strategies that guided their ascent to a position of political power, as well as the reasons they were unable to maintain that position for long. I do so both in order to analyze which factors could determine acquisition and loss of political power in the turbulent late ninth and tenth centuries, and also to suggest how this sort of political upheaval could affect family structure. Here the Bosonids become an important case study for the question, discussed in the previous chapter, whether aristocratic families changed from loosely organized groups of kin to agnatically organized lineages at the end of the Carolingian age. As I shall argue, neither politics nor the family organization of the upper nobility can be understood by itself for this period. The fortunes of kingdoms might turn on the lack of an heir of suitable age, and the way that families perceived themselves often depended on their success or failure in the political realm.

First, however, some comments are necessary on the term “Bosonid.” It

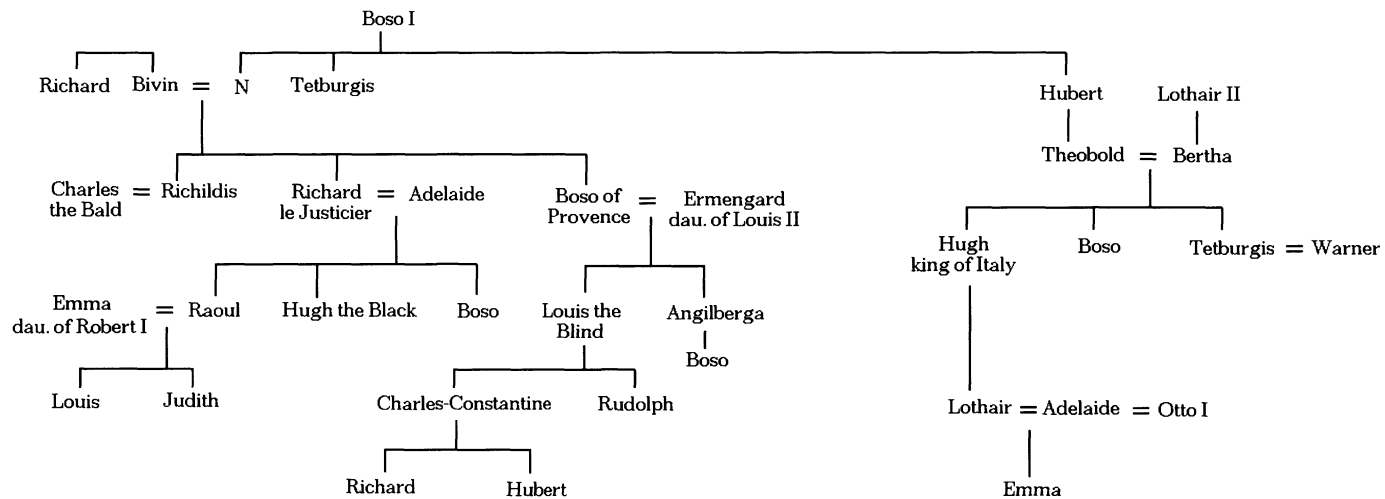


Figure 5.1. The Bosonid phylad.

is a word adopted by modern scholars to describe what is actually not one but three separate though related lineages. They were related through women; Bivin, the founder of the first lineage, married the sister of Hubert, the first powerful man of the second lineage; and Hubert's granddaughter married Warner, first known male member of the third lineage. To distinguish the three lineages, I shall (rather arbitrarily) refer to them respectively as the Bivinid, Hubertian, and Warnerian lines. In discussing all three lineages together, I shall avoid such terms as "super-family" (with the connotation of red capes and the planet Krypton) and instead refer to the "Bosonid phylad" ("phylad," a term commonly used in the biological sciences, is from the Greek *phylon*, meaning tribe or race). The simplified family tree in Figure 5.1 shows the relationships among the three lineages. None of the members of these three lineages had a collective word for themselves, so when one speaks of "the Bosonids" one is using a modern construct. Scholars use the term because many members of all three lineages were named Boso, which was then a common and respectable name.¹ It may have taken on some of the pejorative character it now has because in the High Middle Ages, when Anselm wrote philosophical treatises as a dialogue between A and B, A was (naturally) himself, and B, who never had the right answer, was named Boso.

The Bivinids

The rise to power of the first Bosonid lineage I shall discuss was rapid.² This lineage, whose family tree is given in Figure 5.2, first appears at the beginning of the ninth century, when the brothers Richard and Bivin served the Carolingian emperor Louis the Pious. Their ancestry is unknown,³ but they quickly attached themselves to the royal palace. Richard held the office of *ostiarius*, one of the most important offices of the palace; the *ostiarius* was responsible for preparing the royal household for war.⁴

This service to the Carolingians continued in the next generation, as did the rewards the Bosonids were able to derive from it. Bivin's sons, Boso and Richard le Justicier,⁵ served first Charles the Bald, successor in France to his father Louis the Pious, and then Charles's son Louis the Stammerer. Boso in particular made himself indispensable to Charles the Bald. As well as again acting as *ostiarius*, Boso served as royal chamberlain in Aquitaine; took the title of *archminister* of the palace; was given the title duke of Pavia when he accompanied Charles on his Italian campaigns; and acted as Louis the Stammerer's representative in greeting the pope when he came to France and in

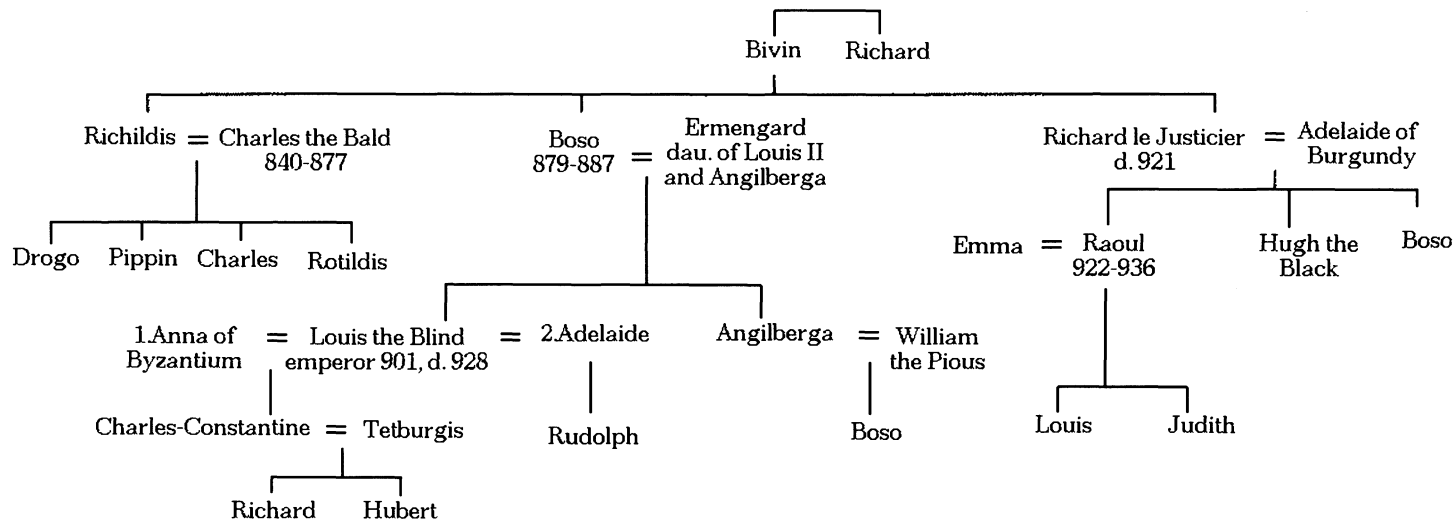


Figure 5.2. The first branch of the Bosonids: the Bivinids.

accompanying him back to Italy afterward. The pope said that he considered Boso his “adopted son” because of his kindness.⁶

But Boso went beyond service to the Carolingians in binding himself to the king: he also created multiple ties of marriage. In 869 he offered his sister Richildis to Charles as his concubine,⁷ and a few months later Charles married her. Ties between brother and sister remained close; in 876 Boso acted as godfather to a baby boy born to Richildis and the emperor.⁸ Then, also in 876, Boso himself married Ermengard, daughter of the German emperor Louis II and great-niece of Charles the Bald, with Charles’s approval.⁹ Two years later he engaged a daughter born to his first wife to Charles the Bald’s grandson Carloman.

The name of Boso’s first wife, the woman he repudiated for a much more advantageous marriage, is unknown. Her existence is known only from a mention in the *Annales* of Fulda, which date her death to 878, two years after Boso had married Ermengard. These *Annales* add the perhaps apocryphal detail that Boso poisoned this woman to marry Ermengard, but if he did so the date of her death must be wrong. One can presume that the daughter engaged to Carloman in 878 must have been born to Boso’s first wife, because any child born to Ermengard could have been at most one year old at the time. Boso is known to have had at least one other daughter besides Angilberga (who *was* born to Ermengard) because a later charter lists gifts made for the souls of Boso’s son Louis and the boy’s sisters, in the plural.¹⁰ At any rate, Boso’s determination to create marriage links with the Carolingians shows the importance of women in political machinations—even as it also demonstrates how little their own views may have been consulted.

From the time that Charles first accepted Richildis as his concubine until his own death in 877, the king showered his brother-in-law with gifts of land and authority. Most of these, like the county of Vienne, which Charles gave Boso in 871, were located in a fairly narrow area, on either side of the Rhône-Saône basin between France and Germany. These were the regions of Burgundy and Provence—an area in which the Bosonids seem already to have owned property. Boso’s most significant acquisition came in 877 when, according to Regino of Prüm, Charles gave Boso the region of Provence with the stipulation that Boso be treated as king within the region. It has been argued that Regino, writing half a century after the event, may have been mistaken on this point. It is clear, however, that even if Boso was not officially made viceroy for Provence, his own inheritance and the king’s gifts made him the effective master in Provence long before 879.¹¹

Although Boso faithfully served both Charles the Bald and his short-

lived son Louis the Stammerer, he had managed to build up an appreciable amount of independent power. The king, who for his part needed the support of such a powerful man as Boso, had obtained his loyalty by giving him responsible offices, large amounts of property, and a royal bride. When the king died, all these remained as a basis on which Boso could build his own claim to be a king.

When Louis the Stammerer died in 879, leaving only underage sons born to a repudiated concubine, Boso moved quickly to have himself made king in his place. He may originally have intended to become king of France, but few secular princes supported him, and he was elected only by the bishops of Burgundy and Provence, the area in which he had been accumulating property. Interestingly, Regino of Prüm distinguished *Provintia*, which he said Charles the Bald had given Boso two years earlier, from *Burgundia*, which Boso claimed in 879. Boso had been assisted in this rise to a throne by two formidable women: his mother-in-law, the empress Angilberga, and his wife, Ermengard. Ermengard was indeed quoted at the time as saying that she, daughter of the Roman emperor, who had once been affianced to the Greek emperor, would not want to live if she could not make her own husband king.¹²

The new king immediately met with armed opposition, from the sons of Louis the Stammerer, the duke of Aquitaine, and even his own brother. Pope John VIII gave his approval to the war against the man he had once called his "adopted son." Bernard Plantapilosa, duke of Aquitaine, was rewarded with Boso's county of Mâcon in 880 for helping drive Boso out of it. Bernard's son, Duke William the Pious, asked the emperor Charles the Fat for a favor several years later on the grounds that he too had fought against Boso, "tyrant and destroyer of Burgundy."¹³

The defection of Boso's brother Richard must have been particularly bitter. Richard, who has been known as "le Justicier" since the eleventh century,¹⁴ is best known for fighting the Vikings twenty years later. In the 880s, he had been busy creating his own center of power, in the area that later became the duchy of Burgundy, north of Boso's kingdom of Provence. Shortly after the war against Boso broke out, Richard took the county of Autun, which Boso had acquired shortly before becoming king, and made it his own capital. In 880 Carloman, son of Louis the Stammerer, recognized Richard as count of Autun. Two years later, Richard did not hesitate to capture Boso's capital of Vienne; he took Boso's wife and daughter prisoner and took them back to Autun.¹⁵

As the first non-Carolingian king in western Europe for over a century,

Boso had real difficulty in having his rule accepted, and he spent most of his eight-year reign, until his death in 887, fighting for political survival. Yet the monasteries of his kingdom accepted him, for immediately upon becoming king he was asked by the monks of Montier-en-Der and of Charlieu and by the rector of Flavigny to give these monks property and confirm their possessions. The church of St.-Maurice of Vienne, where he was buried, remembered him not for his failures as king but for his rich gifts to the church.¹⁶ And there were rapid political changes taking place all around Boso, changes that helped to solidify, at least in the short run, the position to which he had brought his lineage.

Two of the three sons of Louis the Stammerer died while Boso was still alive, and the deposition and death of the emperor Charles the Fat, without heirs, not long after Boso died, left no obvious Carolingians in the west to assume royal rule. In 888, three separate non-Carolingians were elected king (or “kinglets,” *reguli*, as the *Annales* of Fulda called them): Odo in France (the first king from the Robertian/Capetian line), Berengar in Italy, and Rudolph I in trans-Saône Burgundy (in the region northeast of where Boso had ruled).¹⁷ In the aftermath of these three elections, there was little reason to be reticent in electing another “kinglet.” This was especially true as, according to the *Annales* of Fulda, Charles the Fat had been persuaded by Ermengard, Boso’s widow and his own cousin, to “quasi-adopt” Boso’s young son Louis as his own son.¹⁸ In 890 Louis was elected without opposition to succeed his father in Provence. He was supported not only by the bishops of the region, who were feeling the effects of increasingly frequent attacks by the Saracens along their coast, but now also by the secular princes who had opposed his father, including his uncle Richard le Justicier and Duke William the Pious of Aquitaine, who married Louis’s sister Angilberga.¹⁹

Louis ruled successfully in Provence for ten years, then determined to extend his rule into Italy, where his father had once been duke. His initial Italian campaigns against Berengar and his supporters were successful. His rapid success was reflected in the fact that the nuns of Piacenza quickly turned to him for confirmation of their possessions. In 900 he was crowned king of Italy, and in 901 emperor.²⁰ He capped his success by marrying Anna, daughter of the Byzantine emperor Leo VI. Although the Burgundian sources do not mention Anna, a letter from the patriarch of Constantinople to the pope, written about 912, mentions that she had married a Frankish king, the cousin of a certain Bertha, and that “evil things” had happened to this king. The “evil things” certainly suggest Louis’s blinding, discussed below, and the Bertha

mentioned in the letter was doubtless Countess Bertha of Tuscany, with whom the pope frequently had to deal; she was Louis's first cousin once removed.²¹ (For the connection, see below, Figure 5.5.) Louis and Anna gave their son the imperial name of Charles-Constantine, reflecting both his Carolingian and his Byzantine ancestry.

Louis had now reached the pinnacle of his lineage's rise to power. His grandfather's generation had served the Carolingians as court officials; his father had married a Carolingian woman as well as serving the Carolingian kings and had risen to a disputed kingship; and Louis himself had been readily recognized as a king and had added to that the highest political title possible, that of emperor. A combination of shrewd alliances and success in battle had brought the Bivinid branch of the Bosonids, within three generations, to a height previously achieved only by the Carolingians.

But Louis's success was short-lived. He had defeated Berengar only temporarily; the latter continued to style himself king of Italy. Berengar rallied his Italian forces and, after several years of campaigning, defeated and captured Emperor Louis in 905. He did not kill him but rather inflicted the relatively common Italian and Byzantine punishment of blinding him. Louis's son was much too young to succeed him, being at most a few years old, and the rest of Louis's relatives were on the far side of the Alps and not in a position to help him. The blinded emperor fled back to Provence, while Berengar quickly consolidated his position and had *himself* crowned emperor a short time later.²²

Despite this disaster, which effectively ended the Bivinids as a major political player, family members continued to create the same sort of marriage alliances that had helped bring them to power in the first place, doubtless trying to find some way to recover lost ground. It was probably after his return to Provence that Louis married Adelaide, his second wife and most likely the mother of Rudolph, his second son. Because of these names, Adelaide and Rudolph, scholars have generally assumed that she was the daughter of King Rudolph I of Burgundy, who had taken the crown there in 888 and who had a sister named Adelaide. The suggestion seems plausible, even though there is no primary evidence supporting it.²³

Incidentally, an argument is sometimes made for this suggestion on the basis of a charter of Adelaide, the sister of Rudolph I, in which she refers to a *nepos* named Louis, who has been identified as Louis the Blind. This charter is then taken as proof that Louis was the husband of Adelaide's niece. It seems much more likely that Adelaide was here referring not to a nephew-in-

law but to her grandson Louis, whose existence is attested by the chronicle of St.-Bénigne (he was son of Adelaide's son Raoul); *nepos* was often used at the time to mean grandson.²⁴

Louis's first son, Charles-Constantine, married a woman named Tetburgis while his father was still alive. Because of her name and the names of her sons, scholars have often concluded that she was the daughter of Warner and Tetburgis, of the Warnerian branch of the Bosonids, discussed below. Charles-Constantine and his wife Tetburgis were the parents of two boys, Richard and Hubert, of whom nothing is known beyond their names.²⁵ Scholars have however speculated that they were the ancestors of the counts of Savoy, the counts of Vienne, or of the counts of Arles.²⁶

Louis lived for almost another twenty-five years after his blinding, probably until 928; his last known charter is dated 927. In 928 his second cousin Hugh, king of Italy, appears in documents from Valence and Vienne, calling himself *rex* with no mention of Louis. It would be odd to have another man calling himself king in Louis's capital unless Louis had died; Louis's death in fact probably precipitated Hugh's visit.²⁷ Until he died, Louis had continued to call himself emperor, but his real authority very quickly vanished. Incapacitated as he was, he could no longer fight or rule. The accidents of war had abruptly ended what might otherwise have been a long-lasting and very powerful dynasty.

After Louis died, Charles-Constantine was able to claim only the restricted title of count of Vienne. The chronicler Richer said disapprovingly that Charles-Constantine had concubines in his ancestry.²⁸ This was literally true, in that his mother Anna's mother was the emperor's concubine when she was born. But it also seems to have been a comment on Charles-Constantine's failure to become more than a count. Raoul, king of France, son of Richard le Justicier and hence Charles-Constantine's first cousin once removed, granted him the county of Vienne in 931, shortly after the death of Louis the Blind. Charles-Constantine received the Carolingian king Louis IV at Vienne in 941 and 951, but only as a faithful count, not as someone capable of challenging the king. During Louis the Blind's more than twenty years of seclusion, other men had taken over the kingdoms and even the imperial title he had called his, and it was much too late for his son to try to acquire them.²⁹

The appearance of Raoul at Vienne is indicative that other members of the Bivinid lineage were trying to make themselves kings at the same time as Boso's descendants. Interestingly, however, this was a separate undertaking, even if carried out by first cousins. Just because two men were related, one cannot assume that their efforts to become king were coordinated. Here, in

fact, the cousins Raoul and Charles-Constantine were respectively the son and grandson of men who had been both brothers and bitter enemies. As noted above, when Boso made himself king of Provence, his brother Richard le Justicier supported the grandsons of Charles the Bald, rather than Boso. During his long career Richard continued to serve the Carolingians as his principal lords. He did however ally himself with a man who, like Boso, was challenging the Carolingian claim to be sole kings in the west. In 888, a year after Boso's death, Rudolph I became king of trans-Saône Burgundy, and shortly thereafter Richard married Rudolph's sister Adelaide.³⁰ But he did not use this marriage with a king's sister as an instrument to becoming king himself.

Toward the end of his life Richard became a close ally of Robert I, the duke of Francia, to whose daughter he married his own oldest son. It is surely significant that only in 923, after the death in 921 of Richard le Justicier, who never turned against the Carolingians himself, did Robert rebel against Charles the Simple and have himself crowned king of France.³¹ Robert, whose older brother Odo had already been king of France (888–898), was not nearly as reticent as his older Burgundian ally to challenge Carolingian hegemony. When Robert was killed in battle within the year, the crown was taken by Raoul, son of Richard le Justicier and Robert's son-in-law; Robert's own son was still underage.³² Raoul now appeared ready to establish a permanent line of Bosonid kings, such as had eluded Louis the Blind.

It is important to note that Raoul was not picking up Louis's claim to kingship but establishing his own, based on his alliance with the Robertians. It was more important to the French nobles who elected him king in 923 that he was the son of a formidable Viking-fighter and had married the daughter of the heroic and regretted Robert I than that he was first cousin of the virtually forgotten, though still living, Emperor Louis. Raoul, to demonstrate that the children he intended to succeed him were royal children, destined to rule, gave them the imperial names of Louis and Judith, for Louis the Pious and his first wife, just as King Boso had given his children the imperial names Louis and Angilberga, the names of his wife's parents.³³ Although Raoul had succeeded as king by virtue of an alliance with the Robertians, Robertian names were not sufficiently prestigious in the early tenth century; he wanted Carolingian names and therefore took the names of collateral relatives (his mother's great-aunt Judith had married Louis the Pious). But his plans for a dynasty would not be realized, for his son Louis predeceased him.

Nor were claims to the French throne picked up by either of his younger brothers, Hugh the Black and Boso,³⁴ who never seemed to have sought a

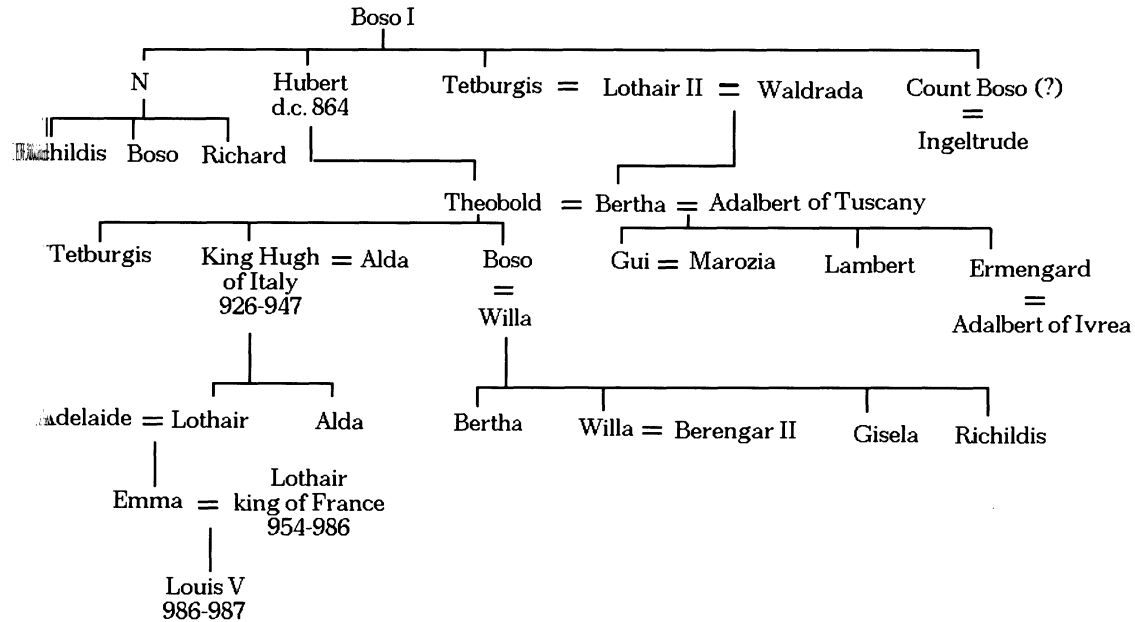


Figure 5.3. The second branch of the Bosonids: the Hubertians.

higher office than that of duke or count, in the regions of Burgundy and Lorraine. When Raoul died in 936, the Carolingians returned to the French throne in the person of Louis IV. The highest offices any of Richard le Justicier's descendants held after the middle of the tenth century were those of count of Dijon and Atuyer.³⁵

The Hubertians

The precipitous rise and fall of the Bivinid lineage was essentially duplicated in the fate of the second, or Hubertian, Bosonid lineage, composed of the descendants of Hubert, the maternal uncle of King Boso and Richard le Justicier. Hubert had at least two sisters, one named Tetburgis, and the other Boso and Richard's mother.³⁶ The name of this woman is not given in any document, but scholars have usually called her Richildis, her daughter's name.³⁷ This lineage's family tree is given in Figure 5.3.

Hubert was the son of a count named Boso, usually called Boso I to distinguish him from King Boso. There are several men named Boso who appear in the records between the seventh and the ninth centuries,³⁸ and scholars have usually been unable to resist the temptation to make some of them Boso I's ancestors, but there is no evidence for this. It is however probable that Boso I was the father of a count named Boso whose wife, Ingeltrude, deserted him in a highly publicized scandal during the 860s. This Boso had died by 878. It is fairly likely that he was brother of Hubert and Tetburgis, as his divorce was usually mentioned in the same councils and series of letters as Tetburgis's divorce, discussed below. But this identification cannot be considered sure.³⁹ All that can be said for certain is that Hubert, son of Boso I and probably brother of another Boso, was of a comital family that served the Carolingians in the second half of the ninth century.

But Hubert and his descendants had higher ambitions than being count. He started his own rise to power in the service of the Carolingian emperors Lothair I and Lothair II. Like Boso of Provence, he found it useful to cement the tie between himself and his Carolingian lords through a tie of marriage, and around 855 he married his sister Tetburgis to Lothair II.⁴⁰ However, this marriage did not work out nearly as well as did the marriage between Charles the Bald and Richildis fifteen years later. Within two years Lothair decided to divorce Tetburgis and return to his former concubine Waldrada, who had provided him with a son. Since divorce had already become quite difficult by this time, Lothair tried to repudiate Tetburgis on the basis of trumped-

up charges, accusing her of unnatural incest with her brother Hubert. Their divorce became a celebrated and sordid case, dragging on for over ten years while Tetburgis gained the support of the pope, of Charles the Bald, and of such notable ecclesiastics as Hincmar of Reims. Only Lothair's death put a final end to the case.⁴¹

But the total failure of this particular marriage alliance did not mean that this Bosonid lineage had given up on attempts to raise themselves by marrying Carolingians. A generation later Hubert's son Theobold married Bertha, daughter of Lothair II and his concubine Waldrada.⁴² Practical considerations clearly overrode any personal considerations which might otherwise have prevented a marriage between the daughter of the concubine for whom Lothair had repudiated his wife, and the son of the man with whom that wife was supposed to have committed incest.

This marriage did in fact answer the purpose by establishing the family fortunes. Bertha's rather dubious origins — it was unclear even at the time how legitimate her parents' eventual marriage might have been — were quickly forgotten, and at the beginning of the eleventh century she took her place in *genealogiae* of the Carolingian line as daughter of an emperor and mother of kings.⁴³

The rise to power of this second, Hubertian, Bosonid lineage reached a high point with Theobold's and Bertha's son Hugh. Hugh too started by serving a king, in his case King Louis of Provence, his second cousin. While Louis was in Italy, Hugh served as count of Provence and helped restore the churches of Vienne after the Saracens had been driven back. Hugh also tried unsuccessfully to claim the kingdom of trans-Saône Burgundy in 912, after the death of Rudolph I, by marrying Rudolph's widow, Willa.⁴⁴ Finally, long after Louis was blinded, Hugh took up his Italian campaigns. However, it is apparent that Hugh fought not on behalf of his (supposedly) imperial cousin but for himself. He did not take up the wars in Italy in earnest until the redoubtable King Berengar died in 924, but then Hugh won a series of decisive victories and had himself crowned king of Italy in 926.⁴⁵

In his campaigns, Hugh was assisted by three women powerful in Italian politics. The first two were his mother, Bertha, who had married Marquis Adalbert of Tuscany after Theobold's death, and his half-sister Ermengard (daughter of Bertha and the marquis of Tuscany), the countess of Ivrea.⁴⁶ The third was the infamous Marozia of Rome, whom he shrewdly married to cement his position in Italy. She had already had a remarkable career herself, having been mistress of Pope Sergius III (to whom she bore Pope John XI), the wife of Marquis Alberic of Spoleto (to whom she bore Prince Alberic of

Rome), and the wife of Hugh's half-brother Gui, marquis of Tuscany. After Gui died, around 920, Marozia and her sons, Pope John and Prince Alberic, held Rome against Hugh. But after Marozia and Hugh reached a stalemate, they decided to become allies and married. Marozia was of great help to Hugh in his subsequent campaigns, and a few years later she married her son Alberic to Hugh's daughter Alda, born of an earlier marriage.⁴⁷

These three women in fact were more help to Hugh than was his one full brother, Boso. Although Boso accompanied him to Italy and was initially his ally, he was stirred up against Hugh by his own wife, Willa. (Scholars sometimes refer to Willa as the daughter of Rudolph I of Burgundy and of Queen Willa, but there is no evidence for such a link other than her name.⁴⁸) Just as King Boso's wife had pushed him toward claiming the crown in 879, so this Boso's wife, according to Liudprand of Cremona, was responsible for his challenge to his brother's authority. Hugh responded by imprisoning Boso, who gave him no further trouble. The ill feeling between the brothers was doubtless linked to the marriage of Boso's daughter Willa to Berengar II, grandson of the Berengar I whom Hugh had succeeded on the Italian throne and Hugh's greatest potential rival.⁴⁹

Hugh ruled Italy without major setbacks for twenty-one years, in spite of constant wars with the Italian magnates and with the Rudolphian kings of Burgundy, the latter due to the fact that the king of Italy and the king of Burgundy each coveted the other's kingdom. It must have appeared to everyone at the time that Hugh would be able to establish the powerful Bosonid dynasty that had eluded Louis the Blind. He had a son, born to a noble Frankish woman named Alda or Hilda, whom Hugh had married before coming to Italy. Hugh gave this son the royal name of Lothair, the name of his own maternal grandfather. (Hugh and Alda also had a daughter named Alda, as noted above.) Lothair, who seems to have been Hugh's only legitimate son, was ready to inherit from his father. In 937 Hugh affianced this boy to Adelaide, daughter of Rudolph II of Burgundy, who had just died, while thriftily marrying Rudolph's widow Bertha himself, Marozia too having died by this time.⁵⁰

Hugh had at least six other children, and here it is interesting to note that, while most had successful careers in their own right, none but Lothair, the legitimate son, ever seem to have raised a claim to the Italian throne. Instead, the most successful were those who entered the church. Hugh's son Hubert was born to a noble concubine named Wandelmodis. By a concubine named Pezola, a serf according to Liudprand of Cremona, Hugh had children named Bertha and Boso. In spite of their origins, these two had successful

careers, Bertha marrying a nephew of the Byzantine emperor and Boso becoming bishop of Piacenza. By his concubine Roza, wife of one of his vassals, Hugh had a daughter named Rotlinda, who married two Italian counts and was the mother of Hubert, dean of Pavia. By two more concubines, one named Stephanie and one whose name is not known, Hugh had sons Theobald, archdeacon of Milan, and Geoffrey, abbot of Nonantula.⁵¹

Young Lothair succeeded his father without difficulty in 947, holding northern Italy more or less without contradiction and ready, via his wife, to claim Burgundy if the occasion arose. But his sudden death three years later, leaving only a young daughter, Emma, abruptly ended his dynasty's hopes. Careful planning and an advantageous marriage had put Lothair in a position of potential greatness, but a dynasty's success depended on the well-being of single individuals, and when he died Bosonid power in Italy died with him. King Berengar II, grandson of Berengar I, immediately claimed the Italian throne, as did Otto I of Germany. Otto also married Lothair's widow Adelaide in 951, to enhance his own claim. It is interesting to note that marrying a widow at this time had almost the force of marrying an heiress. Otto eventually defeated Berengar and had himself crowned emperor in 962.⁵² Henceforth, the kingdom of Italy was attached to the German royal family, as was the Roman imperial title, and the Bosonids made no further claim to it.

The Warnerians

The third and final Bosonid lineage, the Warnerians, neither rose as high nor descended as rapidly as the Bivinid or Hubertian branches (see Figure 5.4). Members of this lineage did not try for the throne themselves, acting instead as counts serving the great families who were bidding for the throne, and controlling several bishoprics. The lineage began with Warner, count of Troyes and viscount of Sens at the beginning of the tenth century,⁵³ and his wife Tetburgis, sister of King Hugh of Italy.⁵⁴ Warner died fighting the Norsemen in 924/5, the same year his brother-in-law Hugh first went to Italy. None of his sons or grandsons, however, followed their uncle on his Italian campaigns. Instead they acted as counts, at Troyes and also briefly at Vienne, the latter between the time when King Hugh left Vienne for Italy and when Louis the Blind's son Charles-Constantine succeeded to the county.

The most powerful members of the Warnerian lineage were two bishops, Manasses, archbishop of Arles (914–962/3), and his nephew Theobald, archbishop of Vienne (c. 957–c. 1001).⁵⁵ The last generation known of Warner's

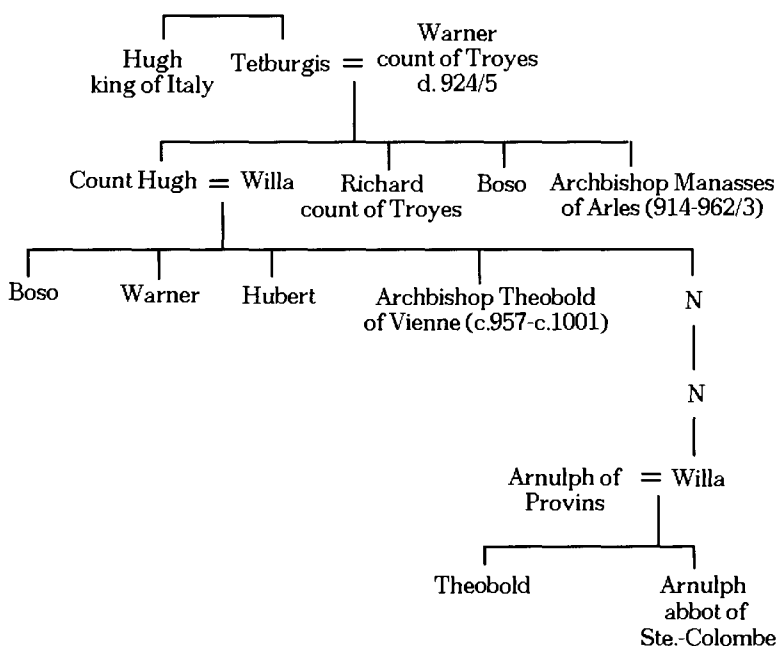


Figure 5.4. The third branch of the Bosonids: the Warnerians.

descendants is that of his great-great-great-grandson, Saint Theobold of Provins, who died in Venice in 1056, and whose brother Arnulf, abbot of Ste.-Colombe of Sens, brought his bones back to Sens.⁵⁶

Even though Warner's descendants, unlike their cousins in the first two Bosonid lineages, always had legitimate sons to succeed them until they disappeared from the records early in the eleventh century, they never sought to carve out a secular principality for themselves. Perhaps the later tenth century was not as propitious a period to create a kingdom of one's own as the later ninth and early tenth centuries had been. By the second half of the tenth century (by 987 in France), Europe had been divided between kings who had replaced the Carolingians and were jealous of their newly won power. Or perhaps this third branch of the Bosonids was simply not ambitious in the same way as the other two branches. It is certainly not manifest that all powerful early medieval men avidly pursued a throne. Richard le Justicier, a successful war-leader who was the brother and brother-in-law of kings, also never tried for the crown himself. It is however ironic that the one branch of the Bosonid phylad which was able consistently to produce the male heirs who might have made such ambition possible never seems to have attempted it.

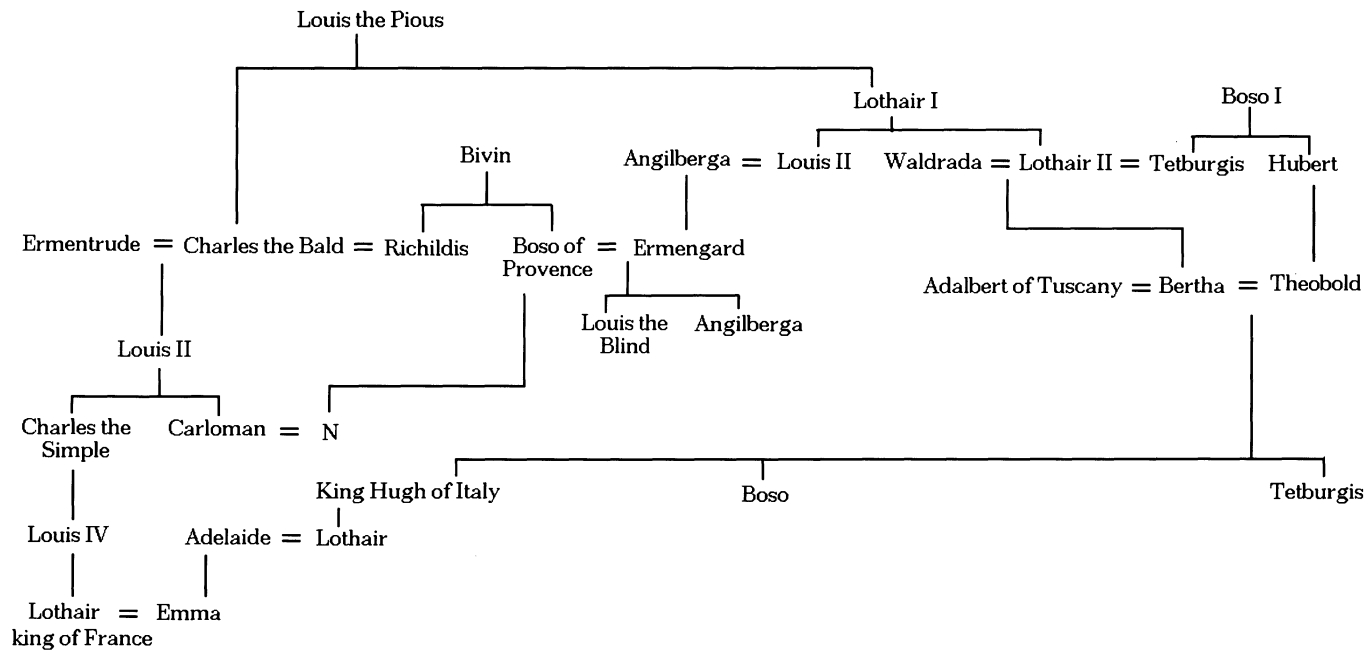


Figure 5.5. Marriages between the Bosonids and the Carolingians.

Strategies for Upward Mobility

This survey of the short-term successes and the eventual failure of the three Bosonid lineages indicates the strategies a family could use in its rise to power and the factors that made that power always precarious in the turbulent Carolingian age. Most important for a family's ambitions was its ability to achieve intimacy with the ruling kings, *Königsnähe* as German scholars term it. This nearness involved both service to and marriage with the royal line. It was not enough to be a king's cousin or even simply his vassal; best of all was to be his son-in-law or brother-in-law. From being a trusted official and brother-in-law, as Boso had been for Charles the Bald and Hubert intended to be for Lothair II, it was but a short step to an exercise of independent power.

The kings, though they were eager to gain the loyalty of such powerful lords as the Bosonids and were therefore quick to offer them property and responsible offices in return for that loyalty, recognized the inherent dangers of too much intimacy. Although the kings might themselves marry the sisters of their great counts and dukes or allow these men to marry their nieces, they almost never let their own children, either sons or daughters, contract legitimate marriages with the members of such lineages while they themselves were still alive.⁵⁷ The closeness to the kings which these men sought could be to the kings a threat of having a son-in-law rebel against them.

It is interesting to note that, while members of the different Bosonid branches repeatedly contracted marriages with the Carolingians, as shown in Figure 5.5, none of these were strictly consanguineous. That is, although a brother and a sister might both marry people descended from a common ancestor, I have found no examples where the newly married spouses were descended from the same ancestor.⁵⁸ When marriages were such a vital part of political maneuvering, it would have been fatal to have a carefully arranged union destroyed by the discovery that the couple could not have been validly married in the first place. This was a real danger, for bishops at the end of the ninth century were always alert to consanguinity, at least among the upper aristocracy. As discussed above in Chapter 3, the greatest lords of the tenth and eleventh centuries were generally careful to avoid marrying anyone more closely related than within five degrees (one degree less than the church theoretically allowed). The first marriage between a member of the Bosonid phylad and one of the Carolingians that was strictly consanguineous was that between King Lothair of France and Emma of Italy, only child of King Lothair of Italy. They were related within five degrees on his side and six on hers.⁵⁹

King Boso is a good example of how someone could use multiple mar-

riages to bind one's lineage to a royal lineage, as long as consanguinity was defined strictly (as it seems to have been in the ninth and tenth centuries) by shared "blood," not by affinity. Within a two-year period, he married his sister Richildis to Charles the Bald, married Charles the Bald's niece Ermengard himself, and engaged a daughter born earlier to Charles the Bald's grandson. None of these unions were incestuous, but it must have required a fair amount of careful planning to avoid consanguinity. With these multiple attachments to the Carolingians, it is not surprising that Boso felt close enough to them to challenge them for the throne.

The men of this Bosonid lineage thus used connections with the Carolingians to excellent advantage, but always with the intention of establishing a lasting inheritance for their sons. Boso named his two children Louis and Angilberga, the names of his wife's imperial parents, not because he drew no distinction between agnates and cognates, but because he hoped to make it clear that these were royal children, destined to rule. This seems to have been a successful bid; at Louis's election to Provence, much more was made of the fact that his maternal grandfather was emperor than that his father had tried to be king. In a case where his wife's relatives were so much more powerful than his own, Boso wanted to identify his children with those relatives, because he clearly understood the advantages, both in real authority and in an aura of power, of such an association.

Once that aura had been established in the Bivinid lineage, however, he intended it to pass to his sons, not any other members of his kindred or more distant relatives, and certainly not back to their Carolingian cousins. Contemporaries too recognized the primacy of a man's sons in inheriting. In spite of Boso's difficulties in holding onto the kingdom of Provence, there was no question of anyone other than his son Louis inheriting it. When Louis was blinded without sons in a position to take up his claim to be emperor, no other collateral relative made this claim either. Both the Bosonids themselves and their contemporaries recognized inheritance in the male line, not a general exercise of authority by an ill-defined group of cousins.

An additional and interesting factor contributing to the Bosonid rise to power, besides closeness to the kings, was patronage of Benedictine monasteries. At least since the time of Charlemagne, monasteries had looked to the kings as their source of protection, and to be a lord who protected and patronized Benedictine monks and nuns was in the ninth century to be in some sense comparable to a king. In the tenth century, monasteries routinely turned to the most powerful lords of their regions for protection.⁶⁰

While members of all three Bosonid lineages made generous gifts to

houses ranging from St.-Bénigne of Dijon, in Burgundy, to the monasteries of Vienne, to nunneries in northern Italy,⁶¹ it should be noted that these gifts were made only to houses where the monks or nuns directed their own internal life, under their own elected head, free from outside interference. The Bosonids do not seem to have practiced monastic patronage in the hope of gaining political control over monastic houses, but rather for the cachet this patronage could offer, and, perhaps even more importantly, because these houses provided a rare island of stability in the rather chaotic late Carolingian period, which the Bosonids fully appreciated. As Barbara Rosenwein has argued, in this period most members of the upper aristocracy were in a precarious position, with a rapid fall the most likely result of their rapid rise, and to them the monasteries of exemplary life, those where the monks lived a life of stability and holiness and could promise efficacious prayers, were especially attractive.⁶²

It should also be noted that, just as the Bosonids used the Carolingians to assist them in their own rise to power, so other lineages in turn used the Bosonids to assist them in their own aspirations, once the Bosonids had produced kings. Thus Otto of Germany was quick to claim authority in Italy by marrying the widow of the Bosonid king of Italy in 951. Even the French Carolingians, who temporarily reestablished their power in 936, contracted a marriage with Emma, daughter of the last Bosonid king of Italy. The dukes of Aquitaine, who were also trying to establish an independent center of power, similarly found it useful to ally themselves with the Bosonids. Duke William the Pious, who ruled Aquitaine in the late ninth and early tenth centuries, married King Boso's daughter Angilberga, as noted above. They named their one son Boso, for her father,⁶³ a royal name to them, just as King Boso had given his son the royal name of Louis. In this context the role of the duchess Angilberga in the foundation of Cluny is particularly significant.

The abbey of Cluny, founded in 909 by Duke William and Angilberga,⁶⁴ is usually seen as the duke's most important legacy, but generations of scholars have been puzzled why he should have founded this house in Burgundy, far from his own center of power in the Auvergne. It has also seemed curious that William, who was accused of wasting the resources of St.-Julien of Brioude (in the Auvergne), where he was secular abbot,⁶⁵ should have founded a monastery with the specification, which became a classic model, that no one, including himself, should interfere with the monks' internal affairs. The clue is that William controlled the Mâconnais, the region where Cluny was located, only because William's father had won it from King Boso in his wars with him, shortly after Boso became king. William himself, who was quickly

reconciled with Boso's family, may well have been guided by his wife in choosing to found a house of religious monks, of the sort the Bosonids had been patronizing, in Bosonid territory. She would naturally have felt some proprietary interest in her father's former county.

Even before the foundation of Cluny, William had been associated with his wife's Bivinid relatives, rather than his own, in religious activities: William was inscribed in the *liber memorialis* of Remiremont along with his brother-in-law Louis the Blind, Louis's mother Ermengard, Louis's uncle Richard le Justicier and aunt Adelaide, and Richard's nephew Manasses with his wife.⁶⁶ After William's death, when the Mâconnais region broke away from the duchy of Aquitaine, the succeeding dukes of Aquitaine paid no more attention to Cluny for a century, but Angilberga's Bosonid relatives continued to patronize the house over the generations.⁶⁷ Hence, the marriage between William of Aquitaine and Angilberga marks the duke's attempt to attach himself to a family of kings, and the foundation of Cluny, in many ways a Bosonid foundation, may be seen as an attempt by the duke to emulate these kings in the patronage of regular and virtuous monks, who might pray both for his success and for his soul.

If royal service, advantageous marriages, and carefully bestowed pious gifts helped the Bosonids rise to power, then their ultimate failure can be seen as an indication that success always was determined not only by ambition and planning, but also by the rival ambitions and successes of other lineages, and even more critically by the personal health of the male members of the dynasty and the timely production of heirs. No amount of planning could compensate for the deadly accidents of war, unexpected illness, or the lack of male heirs old enough to succeed their fathers. The Bosonid failure to establish a long-lasting dynasty certainly did not stem from any lack of ambition or ability. Here it should be noted that, by the time the last Bosonids disappear from the records as obscure counts at the end of the tenth century, almost all the other most powerful dynasties of the late Carolingian age had also died out or were shortly to do so. The Bosonids may seem more of a failure to modern scholars than these other lines because not only their family but their very kingdoms disappeared, as Provence and Italy were absorbed by the kings of France, Burgundy, and especially Germany.

The last Carolingian king died without heirs in 987; the last Ottonian king died without heirs in 1002; the last Rudolphian king of Burgundy died without heirs in 1032; and the last Berengarian king of Italy, driven out of Italy by Otto I in 961, left a son, but one who never rose above the title of count of Mâcon. Even the Capetians were not obviously marked for success

at this time. The death in battle of King Robert I in 923, without a son old enough to succeed him, was followed by a period of over fifty years during which the last Carolingians reestablished themselves on the French throne, before Hugh Capet finally established his line permanently as kings of France, and of course at the time no one could realize how permanent this would be. If the late ninth century was a period in which a number of different lineages began to rise to power, the late tenth and early eleventh centuries were a time in which conflicts with each other and a lack of heirs brought almost all these lineages to an end.

Here the example of the Bosonids sheds new light on the issue of family structure and family consciousness. As noted in the previous chapter, in the last generation or two it has become common for scholars to see the upper aristocracy as undergoing a shift in family structure around the year 1000, from rather diffuse, horizontal groupings of people related either through men or through women, to families organized vertically, with the chief emphasis on the father-son line of descent. The example of the Bosonid phylad, at first glance, might seem to support the idea of an amorphous family grouping, in that there were a number of different people named Richard, Hugh, and Boson, all alive at the same time, all holding power in roughly the same area. Indeed, if the primary evidence were only slightly less full, it would be difficult not to see the Bosonid phylad as a loosely organized group of relatives and hangers-on, of the sort that have made many scholars of the early Middle Ages abandon all attempts to draw family trees, preferring instead to speak in the aggregate of (presumed) relatives who appear in the documents together.⁶⁸ But because the Bosonids might appear, after a hasty glance, like an amorphous group does not mean that they so considered themselves.

It is vital to note again that “the Bosonids” were not one lineage but three, each arranged quite clearly along a father-son line of descent. They were indeed cousins, related through women, but in fact the three lineages were more closely related to the Carolingians than each was to the other, and they never acted in concert. If one begins with the assumption that the Bosonid phylad was one family, these links through women might seem to indicate that they did not differentiate between agnates and cognates, but this reasoning is circular.⁶⁹ If instead one begins with the units of individuals who acted together—or deliberately at cross-purposes—and who inherited from each other, one would have to conclude that the links through women were of secondary importance. Individual members of what we call the Bosonids always wanted their *sons* to inherit, not some other member of a hypothetical diffuse family, and indeed the upheavals that always followed the lack of a suitable

son to inherit from his father indicates that other family members were not considered appropriate substitutes.

The only time that different branches of the Bosonids appeared together in any capacity was when Hugh, the future king of Italy, served King Louis of Provence, and here it does not seem to have been a family tie that bound Hugh, but rather the same hope for advancement by serving a king which had once impelled Boso to serve Charles the Bald. When Louis was blinded and came back from Italy, there was no thought that Hugh had a hereditary right to succeed his cousin there, and indeed Hugh waited for twenty years to make himself king of Italy, during which time he tried instead to supersede the Rudolphians, a line to which he was not related, as king of Burgundy. Similarly, Louis's cousin Raoul, who became king while Louis was still alive, was king of France, not Italy or Provence, and acceded because of his political and marital alliance with the Robertians, rather than because of any generalized perception that he was part of a "royal clan."

If the Bosonid family structure was not amorphous, however, it was also not the long patrilineal succession of fathers and sons one might expect by the eleventh or twelfth centuries. In part this was due to a repeated lack of heirs at critical junctures; that the Bivinids and the Hubertians both failed to establish a dynasty of kings was due more to accidents of war or disease than to any lack of intent to do so. But in part their failure to establish dynasties was also due to the extreme narrowness with which they defined their lineages. Cousins were irrelevant to dynastic purposes, and brothers were the enemy. Richard le Justicier was openly at war with his brother Boso, and King Hugh of Italy imprisoned his one full brother and blinded one of his half brothers.⁷⁰ Both King Boso and King Hugh, well aware of the difficulties of fraternal rivalries, had only one legitimate son each. This ultimately meant the failure of their attempts to establish hereditary dynasties, but it may well have been a conscious choice. King Hugh, after all, took numerous concubines, but his only legitimate wives after his first one were too old to bear further children. Far from being amorphous, their "family consciousness" then was not just restricted to male kin; it was also restricted, at least in their hopes for the future, to their legitimate sons alone.

The pattern of names the Bosonids gave their children also suggests that they were not named for various members of a broad kindred but instead specifically for close relatives and allies. Names of a man's political allies appeared among his sons as often as the names of his cousins. When husbands gave their children names from their wives' side of the family, this was due to a deliberate policy if the wives were of more powerful origins, and a man

wanted to identify his children clearly as royal children. Without the blinding and untimely deaths that ended the ambitions of the first two Bosonid lineages, the names Louis and Lothair, which they had adopted from the Carolingians — who had themselves adopted them from the Merovingians — might have become firmly established as Bosonid names.

The Bosonids may well have borrowed whatever they could from all their relatives, whether prestige or power, but their intention was always to pass it on to only their male descendants. The Bosonids' attempt to gain some sort of almost magical royal authority from their ties to the Carolingians was not the result of a lack of a clear sense of family structure, but rather a conscious strategy to obtain a power which would then be inherited, patrilineally, by their sons, the only people they considered sufficiently a part of their real "family" to be their heirs.

Whether a modern scholar considers the Bosonids patrilineal, therefore, depends on whether one emphasizes their strategies for acquiring power or their hopes for passing on that power. I would argue that only the latter is a real indication of their "family consciousness." The tenth century should perhaps not be seen as a period in which family organization was restructured, but rather a time when a number of aristocratic lineages struggled to prominence, against a background of greater social turmoil than that faced by families in later periods. In this volatile situation, families might well draw whatever practical aid or social cachet they could from collateral kin or marital affiliations in rising to power. But once they reached that power, they arranged their inheritance strictly patrilineally, as the Carolingians, the most successful and powerful family of their period, had indeed been doing since at least the end of the eighth century.

To conclude, this survey of the fortunes of the Bosonid phylad indicates that the position of any powerful aristocratic line of the late Carolingian era, including those that look successful in retrospect, was always very precarious. Since these lineages always organized their authority and inheritance on the assumption of father-son descent, a position of power which took several generations to build up, through a long period of service to and marriage with the kings and of success in battle, might be lost overnight due to the lack of an heir at a crucial juncture. If the Bosonids turned to the holiest monks they could find in a search for stability, fearing they could not keep the high position they had attained, their assessment was certainly correct.

Patterns of Women's Names in Royal Lineages

BOTH MEN AND WOMEN of the medieval nobility were generally named for their relatives. Before the widespread adoption of the *cognomen* in the twelfth century, a noble's given name was normally the only name he or she had. Even after nobles began to be identified in the charters by their *cognomina* as well as their given names (so that a noble would, for example, be identified as Milo of Noyers rather than simply Milo), their personal names usually identified them more closely with their relatives than did their *cognomina*. A noble's *cognomen*, if geographical in origin (as most were), might be held by several unrelated but neighboring lineages and generally changed when someone changed his or her residence, but nobles retained their personal names for life.¹

A person's given name was thus an integral part of his or her identity, and the patterns by which parents named their children reveal much about how they perceived their families. In naming children for some relatives and not for others, parents created a subgroup among all their various agnates and cognates, their ancestors, cousins, and in-laws, and identified their own offspring only with that subgroup. In examining the aristocracy's family consciousness, it is especially important to study the women, because they began life as part of one family or kin group, however defined, but married into and indeed became part of another kin group during their lifetimes.

This chapter therefore studies the naming patterns of women in the highest levels of the nobility, both to answer the rather straightforward question of how aristocratic parents chose names for their daughters and also to make some suggestions on what these patterns reveal of the nobles' perceptions of themselves and their kin groups. I here focus on the women of royal families between the ninth and eleventh centuries. Although royal lineages are arguably somewhat atypical of the aristocracy in general, they are with-

out question the best documented, and the women born as kings' daughters went on in almost all cases *not* to be queens but to be the wives of dukes and counts, if they married at all.

Naming Patterns

One need not postulate pagan survivals or magical practices to consider that, since a girl of the upper nobility was generally given the name of an older relative, someone known personally by her parents, the particular name was chosen deliberately to identify her with the family group in general and with a successful or important woman specifically.² At one time, scholars thought that medieval parents followed a regular pattern in naming their daughters, naming them, for example, as Maurice Chaume suggested, more or less successively for their paternal grandmother, mother, and maternal grandmother. This would have identified them closely with both maternal and paternal relatives, and indeed Chaume further suggested that noble sons were named successively for their paternal grandfather, father, and maternal grandfather, which "rule" would mean that a couple's children as a group were very consciously identified with their four grandparents and these grandparents' lineages.³

As the following discussion of the Carolingian, Ottonian, and Capetian women should make clear, however, no such "rule" was in general use. Every generation, much less every lineage, named its children somewhat differently. And of course there were always cases where names that were not relatives' names were given to children. Boys and girls from knightly families might be named for their lords rather than members of their own ancestors, and even among the highest aristocracy names were sometimes chosen from outside the lineage. Philip and Louis, which became the quintessential "Capetian" names in the twelfth century and after, were bestowed for the first time on Capetian heirs in the eleventh century not as names of relatives but rather due to conscious efforts to connect a dynasty that was still somewhat precariously established with a legendary past, with Philip of Macedon and with the Carolingians. Indeed, a rather elaborate legend grew up explaining that a saint told King Philip I that he should name his heir Louis, a name quintessentially connected with both the Merovingians and the Carolingians.⁴

As I shall demonstrate, even though girls too might be named for non-relatives, there were certain patterns which emerge from a study of women's names, patterns that suggest that noble parents normally wanted to iden-

tify their daughters with their fathers' families. Far from identifying their daughters with both maternal and paternal grandmothers, royal fathers of the ninth through eleventh centuries named their daughters virtually exclusively for their own rather than for their wives' relatives. And they named these daughters for quite close relatives: their own mothers, paternal (not maternal) grandmothers, sisters, and paternal aunts, individuals whom these fathers would probably have known personally.

It must however be pointed out that women of the upper aristocracy were more likely to be named for relatives than were women of less powerful lineages. As knights, even *ministeriales*, often took the names of their noble masters (who might indeed be their godparents), so the sisters of these knights and *ministeriales* might be named for their ladies. In England after the Conquest, for example, a number of Anglo-Saxon women were given Norman names.⁵ It should also be noted that there was no absolute distinction between men's names and women's names. At the beginning of the ninth century, some members of the aristocracy were still given names composed of elements of both parental names.⁶ In the early tenth century, among the Ottonian kings of Germany, the woman's name Letgardis (or Liudgardis) seems to have originated as a feminine form of Liudolf, the name of the lineage's founder; and Otto, the distinctive name of the kings, came from Otta, the name of Liudolf's wife. Otto-William, first of the hereditary counts of Burgundy (d. 1026), was named William, a name taken by many of his descendants, after his grandmother Willa. At the end of the eleventh century, Count William Tête-Hardi of Burgundy married a woman named Stephanie and named his son Stephen, a name not before found in the lineage but which was given to several subsequent counts in the twelfth century. There was thus some diffusion back and forth between men's and women's names, but for the most part noble women were named for other women.

Names of Carolingian Women

The Carolingians provide a first example (see Fig. 6.1). To avoid overloading the figures with detail, I have kept to a minimum the references necessary to establish each woman's position and have not included references for the men, all of whom are well known to modern scholars. The descendants of Charlemagne are by far the best documented kin group of the period.⁷ They also provide an unambiguous situation in which parents named children, rather than grandparents named grandchildren, since the Carolingian kings almost

never allowed their sons to contract legitimate unions while they themselves were still alive. Because those sons who did marry during their fathers' lifetimes generally did so in open defiance, they again would have personally chosen their children's names.⁸

I begin here with Charlemagne and his daughters because the evidence for the Arnulfing women before the end of the eighth century is too sparse to make any conclusions possible. Since Carolingian blood was, by the beginning of the twelfth century, found in virtually every important noble lineage of Francia, I limit my discussion of "Carolingian" women to those whose fathers were descended in the direct male line from Charlemagne and were thus very aware of their royal ancestry.⁹

Charlemagne is typical of the pattern that would prevail among his descendants, in that he named most of his daughters for his own relatives. Of his legitimate daughters, the oldest, Adelaide, was named for his sister; the second (the oldest to survive infancy), Rotrudis, was named for his paternal grandmother; the third, Bertha, was named for his mother; the fourth, Gisela, was named for another of his sisters; and the fifth, Hildegard, was named for her mother, Charlemagne's wife. Of the two illegitimate daughters born after Queen Hildegard's death, Charlemagne named Hruodaid after a third sister, but it is not clear after whom he named Rotildis, although it has been suggested that her name was created by combining elements of the names of Charles Martel's wife and brother, Rotrudis and Hildebrand.¹⁰ It seems instead most likely that he did not name her for any of his ancestors but rather for Chrotildis/Clotildis, Clovis's wife and the first of the Merovingian queens; this likelihood becomes a virtual certainty when one realizes that two of her brothers were named Louis and Lothair, which were only variants of the names Clovis and Clothair, the first two Merovingian kings. Of the two daughters of Charlemagne's second queen, Fastrada, he named Hiltrudis after his paternal aunt and Theodrada after his cousin (the daughter of his father's brother).¹¹ Thus, of Charlemagne's seven legitimate daughters, six were named for his female relatives and one for his wife. Of the two illegitimate daughters, one was named for one of his sisters and the other for the first Merovingian queen.

The same pattern was followed by Charlemagne's sons: they named their daughters after their own relatives, occasionally even rather distant relatives, in preference to their wives. Louis the Pious named his oldest daughter Alpaidis, after the mother of Charles Martel, his own paternal great-great-grandmother.¹² There seems to have been a special significance in this name, for Louis's daughter Alpaidis was illegitimate, and Charles Martel was consid-

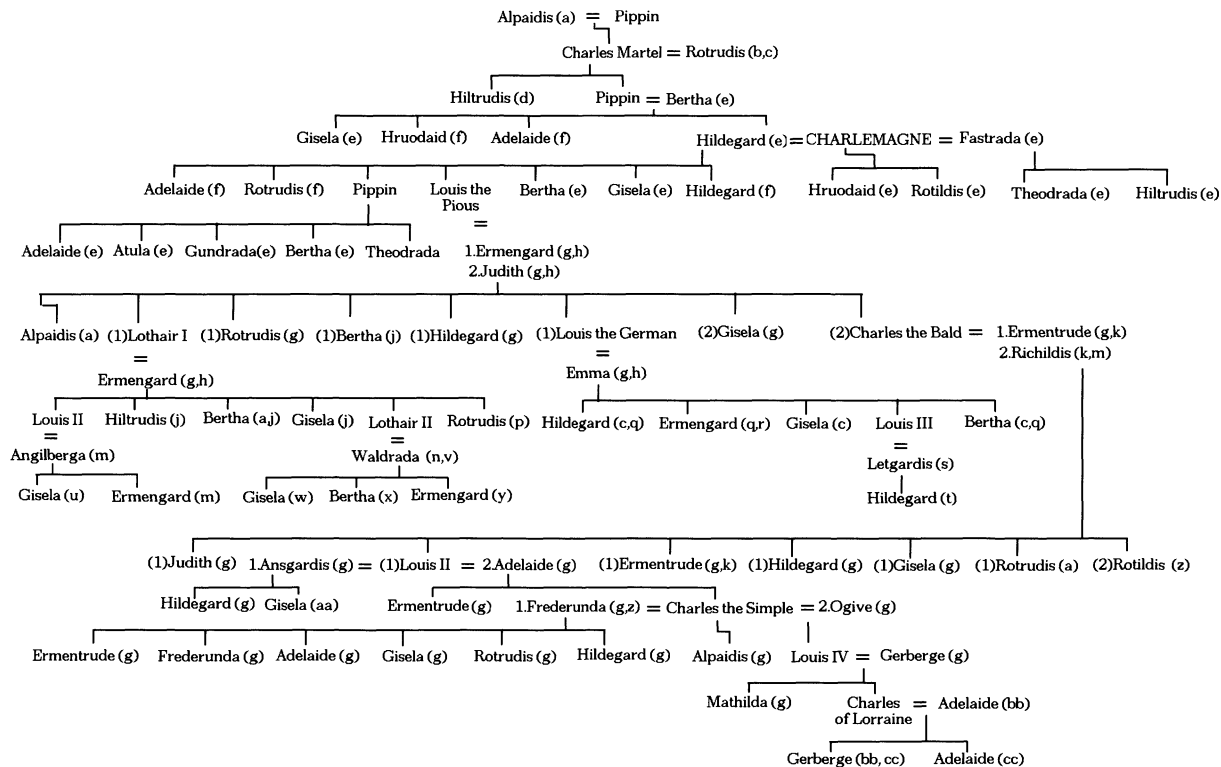


Figure 6.1. Carolingian women.

Notes - Figure 6.1

- a Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* 2.12, 3.27, 4.46, MGH SS 13:460, 547–48, 595.
b “Annales Laureshamenses” 725, MGH SS 1:24; “Annales Nazariani” 725, *ibid.*, p. 25.
c *Libri confraternitatum Sancti Galli Augiensis Fabariensis*, ed. Paul Piper, pp. 11, 292, 365.
d “Chronicon Vedastinum” 745, MGH SS 13:702.
e Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni* 18–19, MGH SS 2:453–54.
f Paul the Deacon, *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium*, MGH SS 2:265–67.
g Witger, “Genealogia Arnulfi comitis,” MGH SS 9:303.
h “Annales Xantenses” 819, 821, 826, MGH SS 2:219–35.
j MGH DD Carolinorum 3:143, 241, 353, 441, nos. 48, 101, 197, 34.
k *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, roi de France*, ed. Arthur Giry et al., 2:347–50, 475–77, nos. 379, 436.
m *Annales Bertiniani* 862, 869, 870, 876, 882, ed. Félix Grat et al., pp. 91, 167–69, 201, 249.
n *Annales Bertiniani* 879, p. 239.

- p Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* 171–72, MGH SS rerum Langobardicum, pp. 388–89.
q MGH DD regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinorum 1:94, 115, 118, nos. 67, 79, 81.
r MGH DD regum et imperatorum Germaniae 6:397, no. 302.
s “Tabula Ottonorum,” MGH SS 3:215.
t Hermann, *Augiensis Chronicon* 895, MGH SS 5:110.
u L. A. Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae medii aevi* 6:106.
v Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon* 864, ed. Friedrich Kurze, pp. 80–81.
w *Annales Vedastini* 882, MGH SS 2:199.
x RHGF 9:690.
y MGH Poetae 4:1007.
z *Recueil des actes de Charles III le Simple*, ed. Philippe Lauer, pp. 217–21, 264–68, nos. 95, 112.
aa *Recueil des actes de Louis II le Bègue, Louis III et Carloman II, rois de France*, ed. Félix Grat et al., p. 214, no. 80.
bb Richer, *Historia* 4.29, ed. Robert Latouche, p. 222.
cc “Genealogia comitum Buloniensium,” MGH SS 9:300–301.

ered in the ninth century to have been the illegitimate offspring of Pippin, mayor of the palace, and Alpaidis, the sister of one of his servants.¹³ The name Alpaidis was used again for an illegitimate Carolingian daughter later in the century, as will be indicated below. In the meantime, all four of Louis the Pious's known legitimate daughters were named for his relatives: Rotrudis for his great-grandmother and sister, Bertha for his paternal grandmother and sister,¹⁴ Hildegard for his mother and sister, and the youngest, Gisela, daughter of his second wife, for his paternal aunt and sister. It is striking to note that Louis named his first four daughters successively for the consorts of his great-great-grandfather, great-grandfather, grandfather, and father, thus identifying these girls firmly with the women who had accompanied the men of the Arnulfing line. Louis's brother, King Pippin of Italy, named three of his daughters Adelaide, Bertha, and Theodrada, after his sisters, but it is not clear what is the origin of the names of his other two daughters, Atula and Gundrada; it is possible that one of them was named for Pippin's wife. Overall, of Charlemagne's known granddaughters, eight out of ten (including the one illegitimate girl) were definitely named for their fathers' relatives.

It should be noted that it is not always clear after whom a particular girl was named when she was given a name common in her paternal family. Pippin's daughter Adelaide, for example, could have been named for either his sister or his paternal aunt. He did not know either of them personally, as both died young, but both were buried at the church of St. Arnulf of Metz, a church dedicated to an ancestor of the Carolingians which was something of a family shrine, so Pippin doubtless would have heard of both of them.¹⁵ The names of Bertha and Hildegard, Charlemagne's mother and wife, became quite common among his descendants, so it is not always easy to determine after which individual a certain girl was given one of these names. In some cases, where a girl appears to have been named for a rather distant ancestor, she may actually have been named for an aunt or other close relative unknown to modern scholars. A father may well have had several female relatives in mind when he chose a particular name for his daughter.

The third generation of Carolingian daughters continue the pattern of girls being named almost exclusively for their paternal relatives. Lothair I named his eldest daughter Hiltrudis, for his aunt; the second Bertha, for his sister (as well as his aunt and great-grandmother); Gisela for his sister (and aunt and great-aunt); and finally Rotrudis for his sister (and aunt). Louis the German named his oldest daughter Hildegard after his grandmother (and sister); Ermengard after his mother; Gisela after his sister (and aunt and great-aunt, as in the case of Lothair's daughter Gisela); and Bertha after his sis-

ter (and aunt and great-grandmother). Charles the Bald named his oldest daughter Judith for his mother; Ermentrude for his wife (the girl's mother); Hildegard for his grandmother (and sister); Gisela for his sister (and a series of aunts); Rotrudis for his sister (and aunt); and Rotildis for his aunt. Thus, of the fourteen known daughters of Charlemagne's grandsons, thirteen were named for their fathers' relatives and the other for her own mother. These thirteen women shared only eight names; three were named Gisela and two each Hildegard, Bertha, and Rotrudis.

The same names continued to be popular in the next generation. Louis III of Germany named his daughter Hildegard (for his sister); the emperor Louis II named his daughters Gisela (for his sister) and Ermengard (the name of both his mother and grandmother); Lothair II, his brother, similarly named two daughters Gisela and Ermengard and a third Bertha (for his sister and aunt); and Louis II of France named his three daughters Hildegard, Gisela, and Ermentrude, all names of his sisters. In the next generation, Charles the Simple named his oldest daughter, born of a concubine, Alpaidis, as Louis the Pious had done with his own illegitimate daughter, and named his six legitimate daughters Ermentrude (for his sister and grandmother), Frederunda, for his wife (the girl's mother), Adelaide (for his mother), Gisela (for his sister and a series of aunts), Rotrudis (for his aunt), and Hildegard (for his sister and aunt). Overall, in these final two generations of general Carolingian hegemony, the kings named all but one of their sixteen known daughters after their own female relatives (including the one illegitimate daughter) and the sixteenth after the girl's mother. Carolingians continued as kings of France for two more generations, but only one royal daughter is known, Mathilda, daughter of Louis IV. Interestingly, this girl, born as the Carolingian power was fading, was named not for any of her father's relatives or even for her mother but rather for her maternal grandmother, the first Carolingian girl known to be so named.

Several features emerge from this survey of the names of Carolingian women. Most obvious of course is that almost all of them were named for women on their fathers' rather than their mothers' side of the family; the Carolingian men may have named their daughters without consulting their wives, or husband and wife together may have decided to name their daughters for his rather than her relatives. Only three girls are known to have been named for their own mothers, and these were never the oldest girls. Hildegard, daughter of Charlemagne and Hildegard, was in fact the last child born to her mother. Charles the Bald and Charles the Simple, each of whom named a daughter after his wife, gave her name to the (apparently) second-born

legitimate girl. The oldest girl, the only girl a couple could be assured of having when she was born, was invariably given a name from her father's family. No girl, even the youngest (until Louis IV and his daughter Mathilda), was named for any of her more distant maternal relatives.

The names of a baby girl's maternal grandmother and maternal aunts were apparently not considered suitable for the daughter of a Carolingian king. The kings of course must have had at least some daughters who are not named in the sources, since their known sons outnumber their daughters. But it is very unlikely that the Carolingians had a number of daughters named for their maternal relatives and that only these girls were neglected by contemporary records, while only girls named for paternal relatives were recorded. It is much more probable that the unknown daughters, like the Carolingian girls known over a span of five generations, were almost invariably named for their paternal relatives.

Among a girl's paternal relatives, moreover, she was more likely to be named for some than for others. A Carolingian king was likely to name at least one of his first two girls for his mother or paternal grandmother. Some apparently named their daughters exclusively for their sisters and paternal aunts, but it is possible that such a king did name a daughter for his mother or grandmother and that she did not survive infancy or did not feature in the records that have survived. Sisters and paternal aunts in any case provided the majority of names used by Carolingian kings in naming their daughters, though it is impossible to discern any pattern of whether or which sisters or aunts came first (especially as sisters and aunts often had the same names). A man could after all only name a total of two daughters for his mother and paternal grandmother (no Carolingian named a daughter for his own maternal grandmother), while many of them fathered a large number of girls who required names.

If a king intended his daughter for the church, he sometimes named her after an aunt who was already a nun or abbess. For example, Louis the German named his daughter Hildegard (who grew up to become abbess of Schwarzach) after his sister Hildegard, who was already in the church. The emperor Louis II had a sister Gisela, a nun and later abbess of San Salvatore of Brescia, and he named his daughter Gisela after her; the young Gisela also became a nun and succeeded her aunt as abbess of San Salvatore.¹⁶ In an age when parents generally decided for their children whether they would enter the church, the choice of the name of a relative already in the cloister indicates that such a girl's parents had chosen the church for her at the time of her birth. They used the name to identify her with an older nun, and they may have even expected

this nun to help see to the education or advancement of her young namesake within the cloister.¹⁷ Parents thus identified their daughters with specific relatives in naming them, as well as giving them names generally current in the family.

It must further be noted that the names considered by a Carolingian father to be "current in his family" were only current in that generation; there was no general "pool of Carolingian names" from which daughters' names were drawn. Since the Carolingian men rarely named a daughter for someone more distant than an aunt, a name could drop out of the available names if it was not used (perhaps because only a few daughters were born) for two successive generations. For example, Charles the Bald did not name any surviving daughter Bertha, although both his brothers did, and this quintessentially "Carolingian" woman's name is not found again in the four succeeding generations of his direct descendants.

Even more important, one must note that while some names became unavailable in each generation, new names were always being added. This is because a woman who married a Carolingian king would always remain to some extent an outsider to her husband, but to her son she was always a central member of his family. Such a son frequently used his mother's name for one of his first daughters. Such a woman's name thus became a "Carolingian" name not in the generation in which she married a Carolingian man but in the following generation. When Louis the Pious named his first four daughters sequentially for the first four "founding mothers" of the Carolingian line, he was choosing names of women who had married into that line.

But just because these women, his ancestresses, were Carolingians in his eyes did not make his own wife a "real" Carolingian; he named his fifth daughter (after he had exhausted his immediate ancestresses) not for his wife but for his sister. The kin group we call "the Carolingians" was not a static unit but one that changed with each generation, and indeed the status of a woman who married into it changed during her own lifetime, from being a wife and outsider to being a mother and full Carolingian, whose name her sons considered very suitable for their daughters.

The pattern of Carolingian men naming their daughters for their own rather than their wives' relatives, it might be argued, could be just the result of their royal position, or wanting to give their daughters the names of queens rather than of the countesses and duchesses in their wives' families. Certainly there was some element of this: throughout the Middle Ages, names of both boys and girls born to a couple in which one partner was of a much more politically powerful family than the other often came from the more

powerful side. But an examination of the daughters born to the Carolingian daughters suggests something rather different: although men who married the daughters of kings were more likely to name their offspring for members of their wives' families than were the kings themselves, such men still tended with great frequency to give their daughters names identifying them with their paternal rather than maternal (even if royal) ancestry.

Alpaidis, Louis the Pious's oldest daughter, had only one known daughter, Susanna, a name not known among her Carolingian relatives.¹⁸ Alpaidis's half-sister Gisela, who married Duke Evrard of Friuli, had two daughters named Ingeltrudis and Heilwig, not names of her own relatives, although her two youngest daughters were named Gisela and Judith, after herself and her mother.¹⁹ Ermengard, daughter of the emperor Louis II, had only one daughter whose name is known, Angilberga, named after Ermengard's own mother. Here it should also be noted that Ermengard and her husband Boso also named their only son Louis, after her imperial father; Boso wanted to be very sure that their children were identified with royalty.²⁰ Bertha, daughter of Lothair II, had one daughter named Tetburgis (for her husband's relatives) and another named Ermengard, the name of her paternal grandmother and sister.²¹ Ermentrude, daughter of Louis II of France, had only one daughter, named Cunigunda, a name not found among her own relatives.²² Mathilda, daughter of Louis IV of France and wife of King Conrad of Burgundy, named her three daughters Mathilda, Bertha, and Gerberge, after herself, her husband's mother, and her own mother.²³ Overall, six of the twelve daughters known to be born to Carolingian women were not named for their maternal relatives. There are too few Carolingian women whose daughters are known to make firm conclusions possible, but it does seem that other men besides the Carolingian kings insisted on naming their daughters for their own relatives rather than their wives'. The greater prestige of the Carolingian line could not completely overcome the patrilineal naming patterns of Carolingian sons-in-law.

Names of Ottonian Women

The same tendency for men to give their daughters names identifying them with paternal rather than maternal relatives is found among the Ottonians, the Capetians, and the Rudolphian kings of Burgundy. I shall treat these three lineages somewhat more summarily. The Ottonians' period of greatest power overlapped at the beginning with the slow decline in Carolingian authority

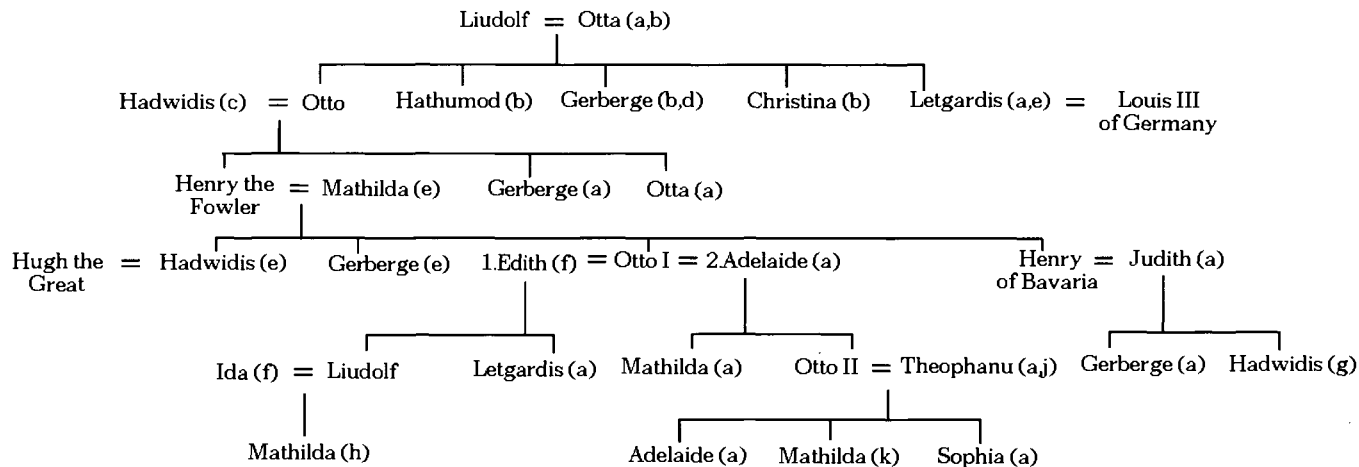


Figure 6.2. Ottonian women.

Notes - Figure 6.2

a MGH DD regum et imperatorum Germaniae 1:142, 241, 262–64, 266–67, 576, 584, nos. 61, 159, 180, 187, 422, 431; 2:28–30, 44–45, 93, 228, 473, 587–89, nos. 21, 35, 77, 201, 67, 177, 179; 6:397, no. 302.

b Agius, “Vita Hathumodae” 2, 16, MGH SS 4:167, 172. Hrotsuitha, “Carmen de primordibus Gandersheimensis,” MGH SS 4:306–15.

c *Annalista Saxo* 911, MGH SS 6:592.

d MGH DD regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolynorum 1:336, no. 3.

e “Tabula Ottonorum,” MGH SS 3:215.

f Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis* 4.13, 17; 5.1, ed. Joseph Becker, pp. 111, 114, 130–31.

g Ekkehard, *Casus S. Galli* 10, MGH SS 2:122.

h *Annales Quedlinburgenses* 1011, MGH SS 3:80.

j Liudprand, “Relatione de legatione Constantinopolita” 7, ed. Becker, pp. 179–80.

k Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon* 4.38, MGH SS 3:785.

(see Fig. 6.2). Duke Otto of Saxony (d. 912) named his two known daughters Gerberge and Otta, for his sister and mother. His son Henry the Fowler, first of the Ottonian kings, named his two daughters Hadwidis and Gerberge, again after his mother and sister. His son Otto I named his two daughters Letgardis, after his great-aunt who had married the Carolingian Louis III of Germany, and Mathilda, after his mother. Otto's brother, Duke Henry I of Bavaria, named his two daughters Gerberge and Hadwidis, after his sisters (and grandmother).²⁴ Otto II named his daughters Adelaide, after his mother; Mathilda, after his grandmother and sister; and Sophia, apparently after one of the relatives of his wife Theophanu, a Greek princess. Liudolf, half-brother of Otto II, named his one daughter Mathilda, again for his grandmother and sister. Thus, eleven of twelve of the known girls born to the Ottonians from the late ninth century to the end of the tenth were named for their fathers' relatives. Like the Carolingians, the Ottonian kings overwhelmingly preferred their own relatives' names for their daughters to those of their wives' relatives.

Among the Ottonian women, Letgardis, Duke Otto's sister who married Louis III, had one known daughter, named for Louis's sister; Henry the Fowler's daughter Hadwidis, who married Duke Hugh the Great of France, had two daughters, who were named after her husband's mother and sister rather than after any of her own relatives; but her sister Gerberge, who married first Duke Gisibert of Lorraine and then Louis IV of France, gave three of her five daughters names from her own side of the family. Of her two oldest daughters, Alberada was named for Gisibert's mother, and Biltrudis was at any rate not given an Ottonian name, but her third and fourth daughters by Gisibert, Hadwidis and Gerberge, were named for her sister and herself,²⁵ and her daughter Mathilda, whom she bore to Louis IV, as mentioned above, was named for her mother. Two generations later, around the year 1000, Mathilda, daughter of Otto II, named four of her seven known daughters for Ottonian women: Adelaide and Sophia for her sisters, Theophanu for her mother, and Mathilda for herself.²⁶ The Ottonian kings, then, as noted above, never named a daughter for their wives, and only in the second half of the tenth century did they or the men who married their sisters begin to name any daughters after their wives' relatives.

Names of Capetian Women

The Robertians/Capetians similarly named most of their daughters for their own rather than their wives' relatives (see Fig. 6.3). Robert the Strong may

have married a woman named Adelaide, for a count and countess named Robert and Adelaide appear together in the *Liber memorialis* of Remiremont,²⁷ but if so this name does not immediately appear among their descendants. (Indeed, she may instead have been named Emma; see the following chapter.)

Their son, King Robert I, had two daughters. The first, whose name is not known, was born to Robert I's anonymous first wife and married Heribert II of Vermandois. This daughter is often called Adela by modern scholars,²⁸ but, I believe, incorrectly. This name is based on a 907 charter of Charles the Simple, in which a Count Robert and a Countess Adela appear together in the witness list.²⁹ Rather than making these father and daughter, however, I would postulate that they were husband and wife, and that if this Robert is indeed Robert I, then his first wife was named Adela. It was common for a count and countess to simply sign in succession as Robert and Adela did in this charter if they were married, but a countess who appeared without her husband was generally called "daughter of" if she were daughter of another of the witnesses. Indeed it is quite possible that the Robert and Adelaide who appeared together in the *Liber memorialis* of Remiremont were not Robert the Strong and his wife but rather their son Robert I and *his* first wife. Although it has been argued that 907 was too late for Robert I still to be married to his first wife,³⁰ in fact there is no primary evidence either as to when Robert married his second wife, or when his heir by this wife, Hugh the Great, was born.³¹ (Indeed, if Hugh was born only after 908, his youth may explain why he was not considered a possible heir when his father died in 923.) Robert I's other daughter, also probably born to his first wife, was named Emma, but one can only speculate after whom she was named.

After the uncertainty in naming patterns of the first two generations of this lineage, the pattern of women's names becomes clear. Hugh the Great was the son of Robert I and his second wife, Beatrix of Vermandois, the sister of Robert's son-in-law.³² Hugh named his two daughters Emma, after his sister, and Beatrix, after his mother. It is interesting to note here that, even though Hugh the Great (who was not a king, and was the son of a man who had been king for only one year) had married a better-established king's daughter—his wife Hadwidis was daughter of Henry the Fowler of Germany—he still named his daughters for his relatives, not hers.

Hugh's son, Hugh Capet, named one daughter Hadwidis, after his mother, and the other Gisela. It is not clear after whom he named Gisela—possibly after one of his wife's relatives.³³ Indeed, the name Gisela may be a clue to the identity of Hugh Capet's wife Adelaide. The confusion that has

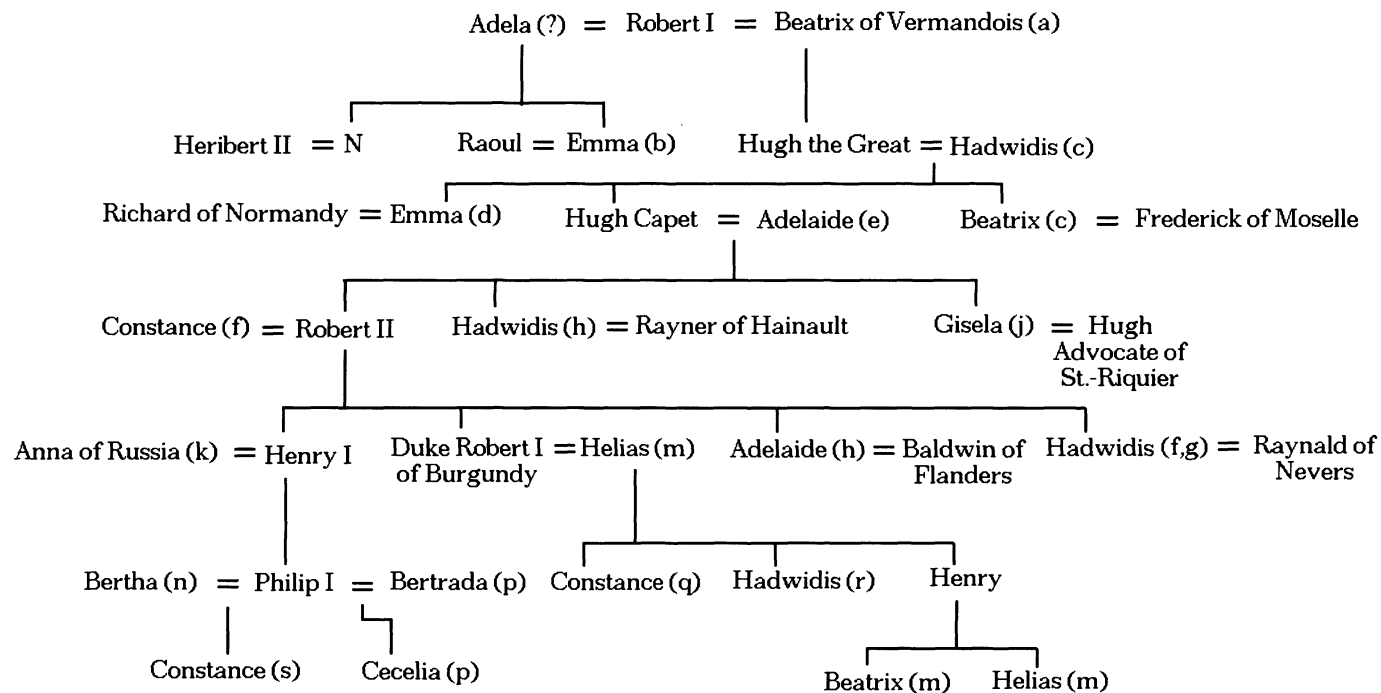


Figure 6.3. Robertian/Capetian women.

Notes - Figure 6.3

- a “Hugonis Magni charta,” RHGF 9:719–20.
- b Flodoard, *Annales* 923, ed. Ph. Lauer, p. 17.
- c “Tabula Ottonorum,” MGH SS 3:215.
- d William of Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum ducum* 4.12, ed. Elisabeth M. C. Van Houts, 1:118–20.
- e Helgaud, *Epitoma vite regis Rotberti pii* 2, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier and Gillette Labory, p. 58.
- f Raoul Glaber, *Historia* 3.2, 4.9, ed. John France, in *Opera*, pp. 104–6, 212.
- g Clarius of Sens, *Chronicon Sancti Petri Vivi Senonensis*, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier and Monique Gilles, p. 106.
- h Alberic de Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica* 1031, MGH SS 23:783–84.
- j “Chronicon Centulensi,” RHGF 10:195.
- k Hugh of Fleury, “Modernum regum Francorum acta,” MGH SS 9:385.
- m Ernest Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne de la race capétienne*, 1:371–75, 397, 418–19, nos. 28–30, 61, 103.
- n “Genealogia comitum Flandriae Bertinina,” MGH SS 9:305–6.
- p William of Tyre, *Historiae rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* 14.1, RHGF 12:518.
- q Falco, “Chronicon Trenorchienne” 49, in *Monuments de l’histoire des abbayes de Saint-Philibert*, ed. René Poupardin and Arthur Giry, pp. 104–5.
- r *Chronique de Saint-Maixent* 1068, ed. Jean Verdon, p. 138.
- s Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica* 8.20, ed. Marjorie Chibnall, 4:260.

surrounded her origins has been sufficient to merit some discussion. Adelaide was not from Poitou/Aquitaine, as has often been stated, going back to the work of Ferdinand Lot.³⁴ Scholars have sometimes assumed that such a marriage is required to explain the consanguinity between Louis VII and Eleanor of Aquitaine five generations later, but in fact Louis and Eleanor were related more closely than through a hypothetical wife of Hugh Capet (see above, Chapter 3).

Frequently cited as “proof” of Adelaide’s origins is a document from 982 which, in its printed version, refers to one Adela, sister of William IV of Aquitaine, and to her husband, “Duke Hugh.” However, this document actually says that Adela was married to Duke *Eblo*, not to Hugh; the editors, believing that Hugh Capet’s wife was from Aquitaine, “corrected” *Eblo* to Hugh. There is certainly no reason then to argue that Queen Adelaide was from Aquitaine on the basis of this document. The document itself seems confused (or perhaps the copies were; the only existing versions are copies made from a fourteenth-century *vidimus*), since it seems to be dated 982, yet Duke *Eblo* of Aquitaine and his wife Adela, apparently the principals in the charter, were long dead by this date, and Adela was not sister of William IV.³⁵

The other piece of primary evidence often cited as indicating Poitevin origins for Adelaide is that the chronicler Richer, in discussing Robert II’s union with Bertha of Burgundy, called Duke William V the *nepos* of Robert, which would be translated as “cousin” rather than “nephew” if Adelaide were the duke’s aunt.³⁶ But that the duke of Aquitaine was considered the *nepos* of Robert II, at the time he was married to Bertha, need not mean that the duke’s father’s sister had been Robert’s mother. Instead, Robert was the (step) uncle of Duke William through his marriage with Bertha; her first husband, Odo of Chartres, was the brother of the duke’s mother.³⁷ Lot himself rejected as unreliable the one source that *does* specifically refer to Adelaide as from Poitou/Aquitaine (indeed adding that she was of the *progenia* of Charlemagne), a charter drawn up nearly 150 years later in northern France.³⁸ Since there is no reason to assume that Adelaide was related to the dukes of Aquitaine and good reason to believe that she was not, I have left her origins unknown.

Whatever the origins of Adelaide, her name quickly became established among her descendants, due to her marriage to Hugh Capet. Their son, Robert II, named one daughter Adelaide for his mother, and the other Hadwidis for his grandmother. There has been a great deal of debate over Robert’s daughter Hadwidis, often called Adelaide by scholars, even though she had a sister by that name. She signed at least one charter as *Advisa*, however. It is certain that she married Count Raynald of Nevers. The twelfth-century

"Origo" of the counts of Nevers, written at Vézelay, said that Raynald married the sister (rather than daughter) of Robert II; so did the "Annales Vizeliacenses." Raoul Glaber, on the other hand, called Raynald's wife Robert's daughter. Most modern scholars have followed Raoul Glaber.³⁹

King Robert II's son Robert, duke of Burgundy, named his two daughters Constance and Hadwidis, for his mother and his sister. King Philip I named his one legitimate daughter Constance, after his grandmother. (He also had a daughter named Cecelia, born from his union with Bertrada of Anjou; it is not clear after whom she was named. His son Florus, also born of Bertrada, was also not named for any known relative.) Henry, son of Duke Robert of Burgundy, named his two daughters Beatrix and Helias, for his great-great-aunt and his mother. Thus, from the beginning of the tenth century until the end of the eleventh century, the Capetians named all but one of their known legitimate daughters for women in their own families, their mothers, paternal grandmothers, sisters, and paternal aunts; the only exception was Hugh Capet's daughter Gisela.

The Names of Rudolphian Women

The Rudolphians provide a final example of naming patterns for women in a royal lineage (Fig. 6.4). Since the background of Welf, founder of the dynasty, is not known, it is not possible to know after whom he named his daughters, Judith and Emma. His son, Conrad I, had no known daughters. However, naming patterns for women become fairly clear when one reaches Count Conrad II, Welf's grandson, in the middle of the ninth century. This Conrad named his one known daughter Adelaide, for his mother;⁴⁰ his son, Rudolph I, similarly named his only known daughter Waldrada for his mother;⁴¹ and Rudolph II named his one known daughter Adelaide, for his aunt. At the end of the tenth century, however, King Conrad named one daughter Gerberge, for his wife's mother (the wife of Louis IV of France); one Mathilda, for his wife; one Bertha, for his own mother; and one Gisela, though it is not clear for whom she was named. There are not many women known to have been born to the Rudolphians, but the three known from the middle of the ninth century to the late tenth were all named for their fathers' relatives; only one of King Conrad's four daughters, however, was so named.

Until the eleventh century, all known daughters born to Rudolphian women were named for their husbands' relatives rather than their own. Judith, wife of Louis the Pious, had one daughter, named Gisela for her husband's

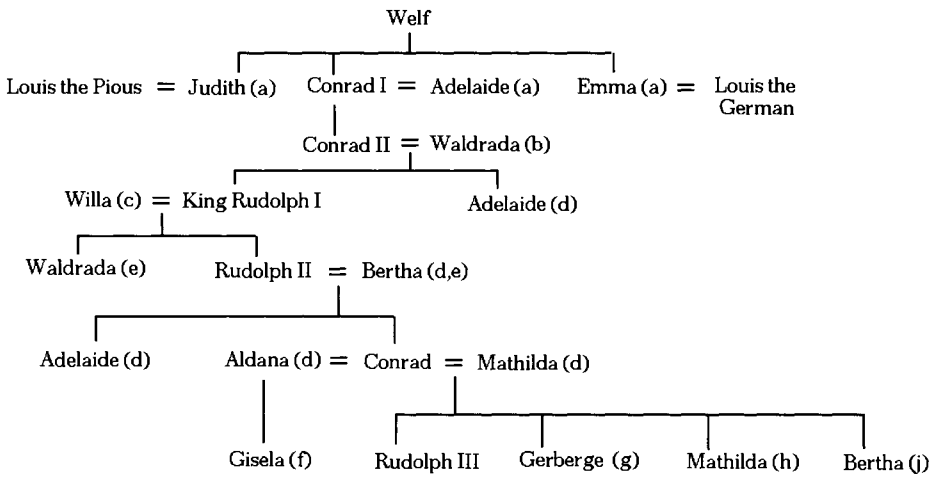


Figure 6.4. Rudolphian women.

Notes - Figure 6.4

a Witger, "Genealogia Arnulfi comitis," MGH SS 9:303; "Annales Xantenses" 819, 821, 826, MGH SS 2:236; Heiric, "Miracula S. Germani," MGH SS 13:401.

b *Recueil des actes de Louis II, Louis III et Carloman II*, pp. 16–17, no. 6.

c *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-André-le-Bas*, ed. C.-U.-J. Chevalier, pp. 224–25, no. 15.

d *Die Urkunden der burgundischen Rudolfinger*, ed. Theodor Schieffer, pp. 95–98, 146–50, 153–58, 357, nos. 3, 35, 39, 402.

e Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis* 2.60, 2.66, pp. 64, 67.

f Hermann, *Augiensis Chronicon* 995, MGH SS 5:117.

g Alberic de Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica* 1024, MGH SS 23:782.

h Flodoard, *Annales*, pp. 158–59.

j Hugh of Fleury, "Modernum regum Francorum acta," MGH SS 9:387.

sister. Emma, wife of Louis the German, produced four daughters, named Hildegard, Ermengard, Gisela, and Bertha for her husband's sisters and mother. Adelaide, daughter of Rudolph II, had a daughter by her first husband named Emma, possibly for her own distant aunt,⁴² but her daughter by her second husband, Otto I of Germany, was named Mathilda, for his mother. But, among King Conrad's daughters, the pattern was finally broken. Gisela named a daughter Gisela for herself,⁴³ Gerberge named her daughter Mathilda, for her own mother, and Mathilda named a daughter Bertha, for her own sister. Overall, of the ten daughters known to have been born to Rudolphian women, all but four were named for their paternal rather than Rudolphian relatives, and three of these were born at the end of the tenth or in the eleventh century.

Increased Maternal Influence

In the ninth century and much of the tenth, girls born to the Carolingians, Ottonians, Robertians, and Rudolphians were never named for their mothers' relatives and rarely for their mothers. But at the end of the tenth century the evidence of names suggests that the women who married into these lineages may have brought the influence of their own relatives with them. At the heart of this shift, at least among royal lineages, were Henry the Fowler's daughter Gerberge, wife of Louis IV of France, and her daughter Mathilda, wife of King Conrad of Burgundy; both were undoubtedly women of forceful character. Louis IV, who married Gerberge, was the first Carolingian king, in the two centuries that Carolingians had been kings, to be known for certain to have named a daughter for his wife's relatives, rather than for his own.⁴⁴

Very quickly, however, this practice began to spread, even among royal lineages. By the middle of the eleventh century, there had been an alternation over five generations in a straight line, of women named alternately Mathilda or Gerberge, for their own maternal grandmothers: Queen Mathilda of Germany; her daughter Queen Gerberge of France; her daughter Queen Mathilda of Burgundy; *her* daughter Duchess Gerberge of Swabia; and *her* daughter Mathilda (also sometimes known as Gisela), wife of the emperor Conrad and mother of Henry III. Each of these women (after Henry the Fowler's wife Mathilda) named a daughter for her own mother. Siegfried of Gorze noted this alternation of names and used it as proof that Henry III's great-grandmother, Queen Mathilda of Burgundy, was indeed the daughter of Queen Gerberge of France. (Henry had claimed she was a daughter of someone else, knowing that since the great-grandmother of his wife Agnes was also Gerberge's daughter, their marriage was consanguineous.) "The genealogy can be established by the names Mathilda and Gerberge," Siegfried said, "that is, Mathilda, daughter of Gerberge, who carried the same name as her grandmother, gave her daughter her mother's name, leaving her own name to *her* daughter as an inheritance."⁴⁵ Thus, even in royal families, it was common by the mid-eleventh century to name a daughter for her maternal relatives (at least when naming her Mathilda or Gerberge), rather than following the Carolingian pattern, which the Ottonian and Capetian kings had also followed initially, of naming daughters exclusively for paternal relatives.

With this in mind, one may address again the question of whether families of the upper aristocracy changed in about the year 1000 from viewing themselves as rather amorphous, horizontally organized groups of kin to ver-

tically organized, patrilinear lineages. As I argued in Chapter 4, a shift from rather amorphous to patrilinear family structure at the end of the tenth century is too simple a description of the complex structurings and restructurings that took place. To the evidence of prayers which were offered for a wide group of relatives, one must add the evidence of patterns of alliance and inheritance, which took place within very constrained boundaries; the latter suggest that powerful families were patrilinear, at least in their ambitions, well before the year 1000. Here the names of women in royal families provide a strong counter to the theory that powerful families became focused on the patrilinear line for the first time only in the eleventh century, a theory that has been argued using the examples of the Rudolphians and the Capetians.⁴⁶ Rather, these names indicate that the kings of the ninth and tenth eleventh centuries drew a clear distinction between paternal and maternal lineages. Louis the Pious was exceptional in naming his daughters sequentially for the consorts of his direct male ancestors, but the other kings too insisted on naming their daughters for women in their own paternal line. For two centuries, with almost no exceptions, the kings did not name their daughters for any of the women in their own maternal ancestry or for any of their wives' relatives, even when these wives were also of royal blood. That the first exceptions to this general pattern came at the *end* of the tenth century, the period in which some scholars have argued that these powerful families were perceiving themselves as patrilinear for the first time, suggests that these conclusions need to be modified.

Even the sons-in-law of these ninth- and tenth-century kings, although not as determined on this point as the kings themselves, were not overawed by their wives' background and named their daughters, in a large proportion of cases, for women in their own ancestry. The kings, in wishing to identify their daughters with their own mothers, paternal grandmothers, sisters, and paternal aunts, deliberately restricted the pool of names from which their daughters' names might come. And that pool was both a narrow one and one which changed in each generation, as a man's mother, the woman his father had considered an outsider to his own family, became an integral part of that family.⁴⁷

To conclude, this survey of the naming patterns for the women born to four royal lineages in the ninth to eleventh century indicates that kings named their daughters almost exclusively for their own, rather than their wives', relatives, until the end of the tenth century. Among their own relatives, they chose the names of their mothers and paternal but not maternal grandmothers and

aunts as well as the names of their sisters. With occasional exceptions, the names they gave their daughters were the names of women they had known personally, as members of the families into which they themselves were born. Indeed, the fact that girls were sometimes put into the church under the tutelage of older namesakes already in the church indicates how close the identification between two women with the same name could be. The general naming patterns never became a "rule," however, for each king chose the names for his daughters somewhat differently. And, far from a generalized "pool of family names" from which all the kings of a family drew, the names from which each king chose the names for his daughters were a selection unique to that individual. With no generalized rule for naming and no generalized pool of names, each king chose the women for whom his daughters would be named, based on his own perception of who were his relatives.

The Migration of Women's Names in the Upper Nobility

AMONG THE UPPER ARISTOCRACY of western Europe, especially in royal lineages, parents gave their daughters names virtually exclusively from the paternal, rather than maternal, sides of the family. As I argued in the previous chapter, princesses of the ninth through eleventh centuries were named for their fathers' sisters, paternal aunts, mothers, and paternal grandmothers, rarely for their own mothers, even more rarely for any of their mothers' relatives, and virtually never for women in their fathers' maternal ancestry. But whether a woman was a "maternal" or a "paternal" relative changed in every generation. That is, a wife was never a real member of her husband's kin group, and at most a continental king might name one of his younger daughters for his wife; but that same woman, as the mother of her sons, was very much a part of *their* kin group, and all her sons might name a daughter for her, often the oldest daughter. Thus, although a woman's name might only occasionally be used for her own daughter, it might be very common among her granddaughters.

One cannot therefore speak of women's names being "names attached to a certain family," because in every generation the available names for women in a given family were different. Women's names indeed regularly migrated between different lineages with the marriages of women from one lineage to men of another. This chapter discusses that migration of names from the ninth through the twelfth centuries, with the purpose of making some suggestions on what such naming patterns reveal of how aristocratic families were organized and perceived themselves. In the following pages, I describe the process by which eight selected women's names moved from royal lineages to lineages of dukes and counts and eventually castellans. At the end, I make some suggestions as to how these names might be used for some insights into the role of women in the patriarchal society of the High Middle Ages.

The eight women's names discussed here were chosen because they were relatively unusual names, which first came to prominence in royal lineages, even though they then spread through a much wider spectrum of aristocratic families. Although of course different names might have been chosen, following these women's names provides a constrained group of relatives in which one can discuss the changes in how the same names were given over time. The conclusions that I draw, although preliminary, are thus based on more than a random selection of parents and daughters.

Beatrix and Hadwidis

The first names I shall examine are Beatrix and Hadwidis, which tended to travel together among the upper aristocracy (see Fig. 7.1). Beatrix was a fairly unusual name; the first known woman to carry the name was Beatrix of Vermandois, who married King Robert I in the early tenth century.¹ She may have been named Beatrix as a variation of the Carolingian name Bertha; at least one source calls her Bertha.² A good proportion of the women named Beatrix in the eleventh and twelfth centuries can be demonstrated, on criteria other than simple name-similarities, to be her descendants. The name Hadwidis was less unusual, but this name, that of Henry the Fowler's mother, is most often found in families of the upper nobility among women who were her descendants.

In the tenth century, these names tended to skip a generation. That is, a man who married a Beatrix or a Hadwidis would not give either of these names to his own daughter, but his son might do so. Thus Henry the Fowler, son of Hadwidis, did not have a sister with that name but named his daughter Hadwidis. Similarly, Robert I and Beatrix of Vermandois did not name a daughter Beatrix, but their son Hugh the Great did so. Hugh the Great married Hadwidis, daughter of Henry the Fowler, and while he did not name a daughter Hadwidis, his son Hugh Capet did.

In the eleventh century, the names Beatrix and Hadwidis, originally the names of a king's wife and a king's mother, began to spread through the ducal and comital lineages of France and Germany as Capetian women began to marry men of comital or ducal background.³ At the same time, women with these names regularly began to produce daughters named after their own, rather than their husbands' relatives. Partly this may have been due to the prestige of the Capetian line; men who married Capetian women were eager to give their daughters names that would identify them with that lineage. But in part the counts and castellans who established their power in the eleventh

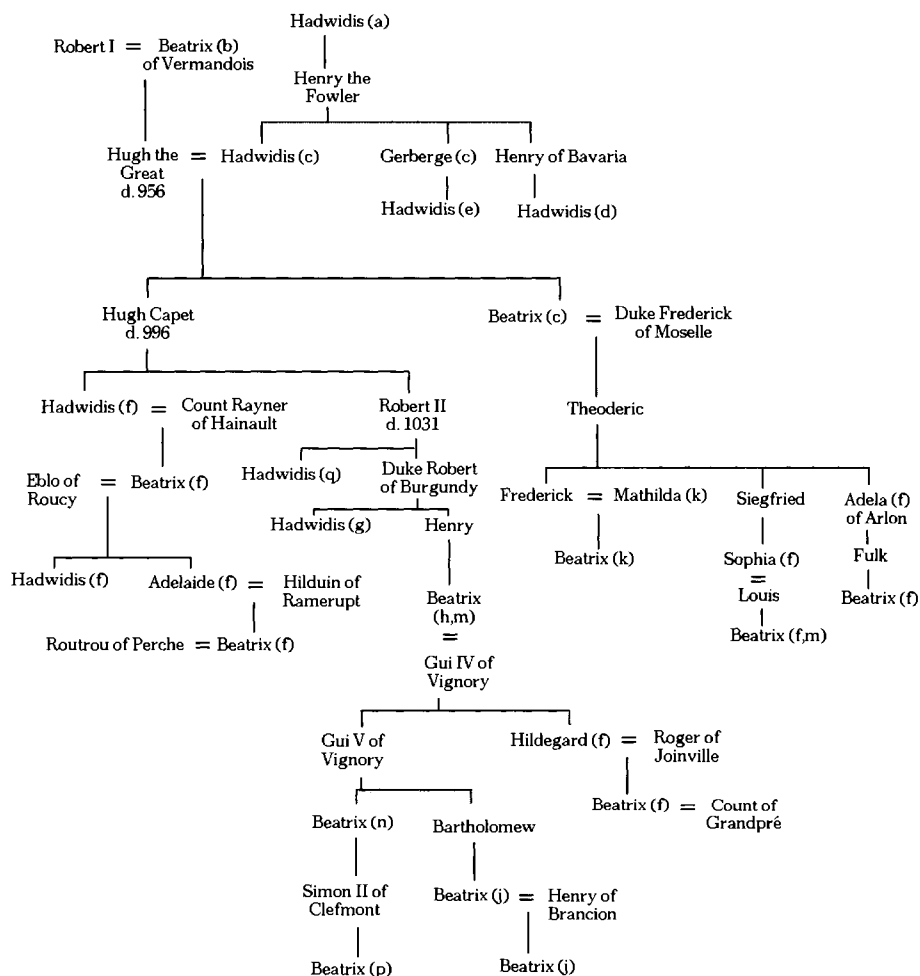


Figure 7.1. Migration of the names Beatrix and Hadwidis.

Notes - Figure 7.1

a *Annalista Saxo* 911, MGH SS 6:592.

b "Hugonis Magni charta," RHGF 9:719-20.

c "Tabula Ottonorum," MGH SS 3:215.

d Ekkehard, *Casus S. Galli* 10, MGH SS 2:122.

e *Liber memorialis von Remiremont*, ed. Eduard Hlawitschka et al., p. 9.

f Alberic de Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica* 1031, 1063, 1064, 1110, MGH SS 23:783-84, 794, 818.

g *Chronique de Saint-Maixent* 1068, ed. Jean Verdon, p. 138.

h Ernest Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne de la race capétienne*, 1:448-49, no. 154. *Cartulaires de l'abbaye de Molesme*, ed. Jacques Laurent, 2:204, no. 1.220.

j *Cartulaire du prieuré de Saint-Étienne de Vignory*, ed. J. d'Arboumont, nos. 77, 105.

k *Vita Mathildis* 1.10, ed. Luigi Simeoni, pp. 33-34.

m *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, ed. Auguste Bernard and Alexander Bruel, 5:190-91, 231-32, nos. 3830, 3879.

n Chaumont, Archives départementales de la Haute-Marne, 5 H 7 [charters of La Crête].

p Troyes, Archives départementales de l'Aube, 3 H 9, p. 73, no. 2; 3 H 10, pp. 12-13, no. 3 [cartularies of Clairvaux].

q Raoul Glaber, *Historia* 3.2, 4.9, ed. John France, in *Opera*, pp. 106, 212.

century must have been less insistent than were earlier kings on naming their daughters only for the women in their own paternal ancestry. Women named Beatrix and Hadwidis, even if from a family of viscounts or castellans (though descended ultimately from the Capetians) and thus not of a line before which their viscount or castellan husbands would stand in awe, nevertheless often produced daughters named for their own relatives by the twelfth century.

Beatrix, daughter of Hugh the Great, did not give her name to her daughter,⁴ but her grandson, Frederick of Upper Lorraine, named his one known daughter Beatrix, after his paternal grandmother; this Beatrix was the mother of the famous Countess Mathilda of Tuscany. Frederick's brother Siegfried and sister Adela each had a granddaughter named Beatrix, born respectively to the count of Bar and Mousson and to the count of Arlon. Hadwidis, daughter of Hugh Capet, married the count of Hainault, and they named their daughter Beatrix, after Hadwidis's aunt. This Beatrix married the count of Roucy, and this couple named one daughter Hadwidis, after Beatrix's mother. A second daughter, Adelaide, married the count of Ramerupt and bore a daughter Beatrix, whom they named for Adelaide's mother.

At the same time, Hugh Capet's son, King Robert II, named one daughter Hadwidis. The latter king's son, Duke Robert I of Burgundy, named one daughter Hadwidis (also called Hildegard in some sources) for his sister and paternal aunt. His granddaughter Beatrix, lady of Vignory, had a daughter named Hildegard, who married the lord of Joinville;⁵ Hildegard and her husband named their daughter Beatrix after her own mother. In addition, Gui V, son of Lady Beatrix of Vignory, had a daughter Beatrix, who married the lord of Clefmont and had a granddaughter also named Beatrix. Gui V also had a granddaughter Beatrix, named for her father's relatives, who married the lord of Brancion at the end of the twelfth century and had a daughter named Beatrix after herself.

Thus, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, though many women were still named Beatrix and Hadwidis after their fathers' relatives, many also began to be named for their mothers' relatives. In either event, these names migrated from one lineage to another when a woman married into a family which had not previously had any women with her name, but gave her name to her daughter or had it bestowed on a granddaughter. Hadwidis and Beatrix were the names of kings' daughters in the tenth century, but in the eleventh and twelfth centuries they were found in the families of the counts of Hainault, the counts of Tuscany, the counts of Bar, the counts of Arlon, the counts of Roucy, the counts of Ramerupt, the counts of Perche, the dukes of Burgundy, the castellans of Vignory, the castellans of Joinville, the castellans of Clefmont, the counts of Grandpré, and the castellans of Brancion. Though

one would not want to rashly attach any family to the Ottonian or the Capetian lineages merely because some of its women carried the names Hadwidis or Beatrix, the tracing of these women's names by criteria other than mere name-similarities indicates the great extent to which the western European nobility had become interrelated by the twelfth century. There was Capetian blood in a variety of dukes, counts, and castellans, some of whom were of very recent rise to power in the male line but who, as they were all descendants of Beatrix of Vermandois, were ultimately descended from Charlemagne.

Mathilda and Gerberge

The names Mathilda and Gerberge, like the names Beatrix and Hadwidis, tended to travel together. They began as the names of Henry the Fowler's wife and sister.⁶ Though they did not spread into comital and castellan lineages as quickly as did the names Beatrix and Hadwidis, they did spread to many of the royal houses of western Europe with the marriages of Henry the Fowler's female descendants (Fig. 7.2). He himself named one daughter Gerberge, after his sister, though he did not name any daughter after his wife. Gerberge, his daughter, married first Duke Gisibert of Lorraine and then the Carolingian king Louis IV and bore daughters named Mathilda and Gerberge, and a son, Charles of Lorraine, who named one daughter Gerberge, the mother of another Mathilda. Mathilda, daughter of Louis IV and Gerberge, married King Conrad of Burgundy, and they named two of their daughters Mathilda and Gerberge. Their daughter Gerberge married Duke Herman of Swabia and had a daughter Mathilda (also sometimes known as Gisela), who married the emperor Conrad, bearing Henry III and another girl named Mathilda.

The names Mathilda and Gerberge continued to be popular among the Ottonians as well. Otto I had a daughter named Mathilda; Otto's younger brother, Henry I of Bavaria, had a daughter named Gerberge; and Otto's son Liudolf had a daughter named Mathilda. A generation later, Otto III had a sister Mathilda, mother of another Mathilda, as well as nieces named Mathilda and Gerberge.⁷

In discussing the names Mathilda and Gerberge, it should be noted that other people besides descendants of princesses carried these names in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Gerberge, Henry the Fowler's daughter, and her first husband, Gisibert of Lorraine, had a granddaughter Ermentrude,

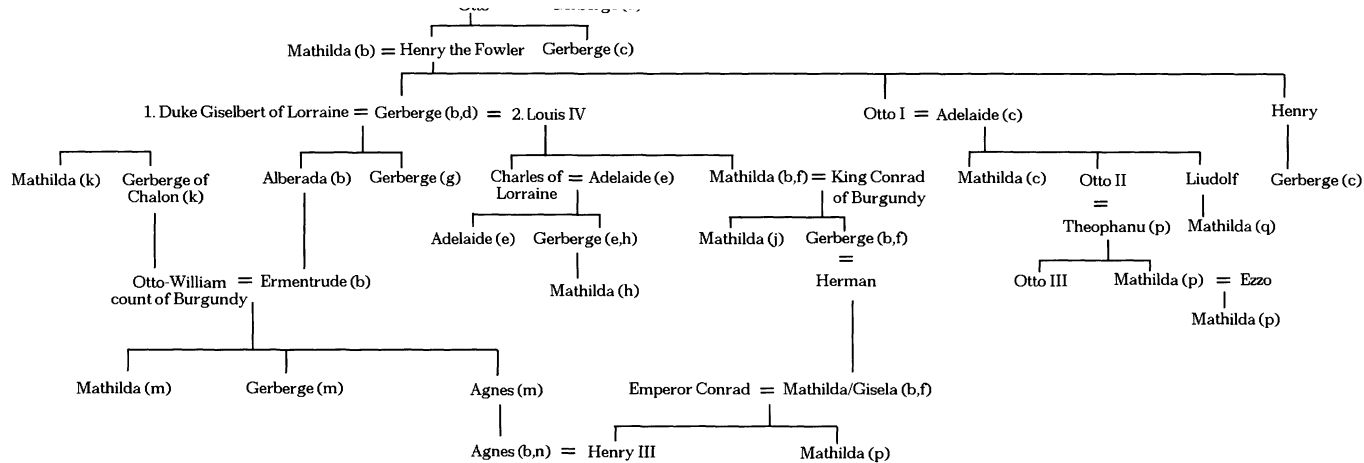


Figure 7.2. Migration of the names Mathilda and Gerberge.

Notes - Figure 7.2

a MGH DD regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinorum 1:336, no. 3.

b Siegfried of Gorze, letter to Poppo of Stablo, ed. Wilhelm von Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 2:714–18.

c MGH DD regum et imperatorum Germaniae 1:221–22, 266–67, 576, nos. 141, 187, 422; 2:489–90, no. 81; 6:397, no. 302.

d Aimo of Fleury, *Miracula Sancti Benedicti* 2.5, ed. E. de Certain, p. 104.

e Richer, *Historia* 4.29, ed. Robert Latouche, 2:222.

f Alberic de Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica* 1024, MGH SS 23:782.

g Karl Ferdinand Werner, “Die Nachkommen Karls des Groß en bis um das Jahr 1000,” 4:464, no. VII.20.

h “Genealogia comitum Buloniensium,” MGH SS 9:300–301.

j Flodoard, *Annales*, ed. Ph. Lauer, pp. 158–59.

k *Chronique de l’abbaye de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, ed. E. Bougaud and Joseph Garnier, pp. 162–63. *Gesta pontificum Autissiodorensium* 49, in *Bibliothèque historique de l’Yonne*, ed.

L.-M. Duru, p. 387. *Recueil des chartes de Cluny*, 3:721, no. 2693.

m Raoul Glaber, *Historia* 3.2, ed. John France, in *Opera*, p. 106. *Recueil des chartes de Cluny*, 3:765–66, no. 2742; 4:13–14, no. 2811. *Cartulaire de l’abbaye de Saint-Victor de Marseille*,

ed. M. Gué rard, 1:641–42, no. 649.

n “Chronica Sancti Albini Andegavensis” 1043, in *Chroniques des églises d’Anjou*, ed. Paul Marchegay and É mile Mabille, p. 24.

p “Brunwilarensis monasterii fundatorum actus” 1, 5, 9, MGH SS 14:125–29.

q “Annales Quedlinburgenses” 1011, MGH SS 3:80.

who married Count Otto-William of Burgundy (d. 1026). Ermentrude and Otto-William named two of their three daughters Gerberge and Mathilda. Although one might assume that these were named for Ermentrude's illustrious grandmother and great-grandmother, they could equally have been named for closer though less exalted relatives: Otto-William's mother, Gerberge, and maternal aunt Mathilda. These two were the daughters of the first hereditary count of Chalon and granddaughters of a viscount, of a family that seems to have had no connection to the Ottonians.⁸ It is important therefore to realize that the presence of certain women's names, even the names of queens, is not enough to construct family trees, and also that one cannot always say without doubt how a particular name was chosen.

Constance

The name Constance was more unusual than the names Mathilda and Gerberge (Fig. 7.3). Constance was the name of King Robert II's wife, the daughter of Count William I of Arles, and most women named Constance in the next two centuries can be demonstrated to have been her descendants. Count William's own mother, the queen's grandmother, seems to have been named Constance,⁹ the first woman known with this name. It is often assumed that this countess of Arles was related to Charles-Constantine of Vienne, being his daughter or granddaughter,¹⁰ but there is no direct evidence for such a link.

The name Constance never spread widely, but it was used for Queen Constance's granddaughter, the daughter of Duke Robert I of Burgundy; for her great-granddaughter, the daughter of Philip I; for another great-granddaughter, the daughter of William the Conqueror; and for her great-great-granddaughter, the daughter of Louis VI. Constance of Burgundy married Alfonso VI of Castile and was the mother of Urraca, the heiress to Castile, and hence was grandmother of Alfonso VII and great-grandmother of Constance of Castile, whom Louis VII married after divorcing Eleanor of Aquitaine. Following the name Constance indicates to modern scholars (though it was not remarked at the time) that Louis VII just as closely related to his second wife as to the first wife he divorced on grounds of consanguinity.¹¹

Emma

Like the name Constance, the name Emma was relatively unusual among the upper aristocracy (see Fig. 7.4). Unlike the name Constance, which began

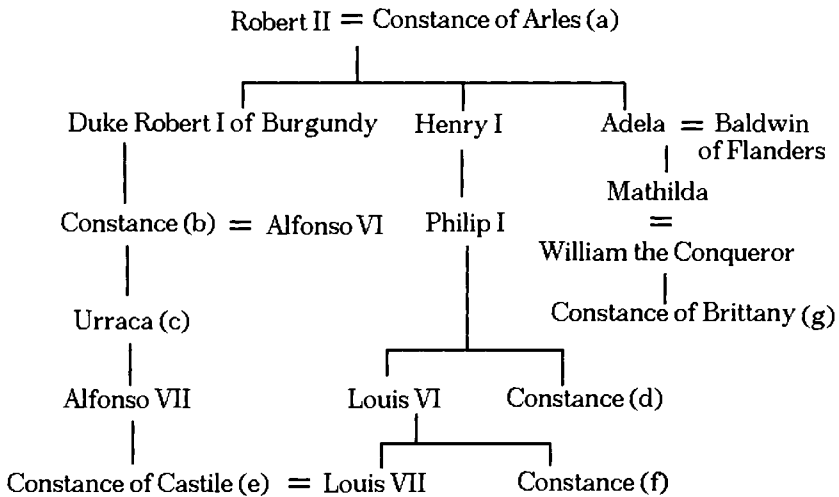


Figure 7.3. Migration of the name Constance.

Notes - Figure 7.3

a Raoul Glaber, *Historia* 3.2, p. 106.

b Falco, "Chronicon Trenorchense" 49, in *Monuments de l'histoire des abbayes de Saint-Philibert*, ed. René Poupardin and Arthur Giry, pp. 104–5.

c *Recueil des chartes de Cluny*, 5:390–92, no. 4038.

d Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica* 8.20, ed. Marjorie Chibnall, 4:260.

e Giselbert, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, MGH SS 21:515.

f "Genealogiae breves regum Francorum," MGH SS 13:250.

g M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, plate 13 [thirteenth-century genealogia].

with one tenth-century woman, the name Emma seems to have been given to women who cannot easily be connected on non-onomastic grounds, but following the name's migration suggests several possibilities for connections that have proved troubling to modern genealogists.

Emma was the name of the wife of Louis the German in the mid-ninth century, a woman of the Rudolphian lineage. She may or may not have been related to two tenth-century Emmas who were connected, as aunt and niece: the daughter of King Robert I, who married King Raoul of France, and the granddaughter of this woman's sister.¹² Scholars have been divided over whether Queen Emma of France was the daughter of Robert I by his first wife, or by his second wife, Beatrix of Vermandois. Because she appears to have been appreciably older than her brother Hugh the Great, who was son of Beatrix, it seems however most likely that she was a product of Robert's first marriage. This would make her the full (rather than half) sister of the woman who married Heribert II of Vermandois, Beatrix's brother, and whose granddaughter was also named Emma.

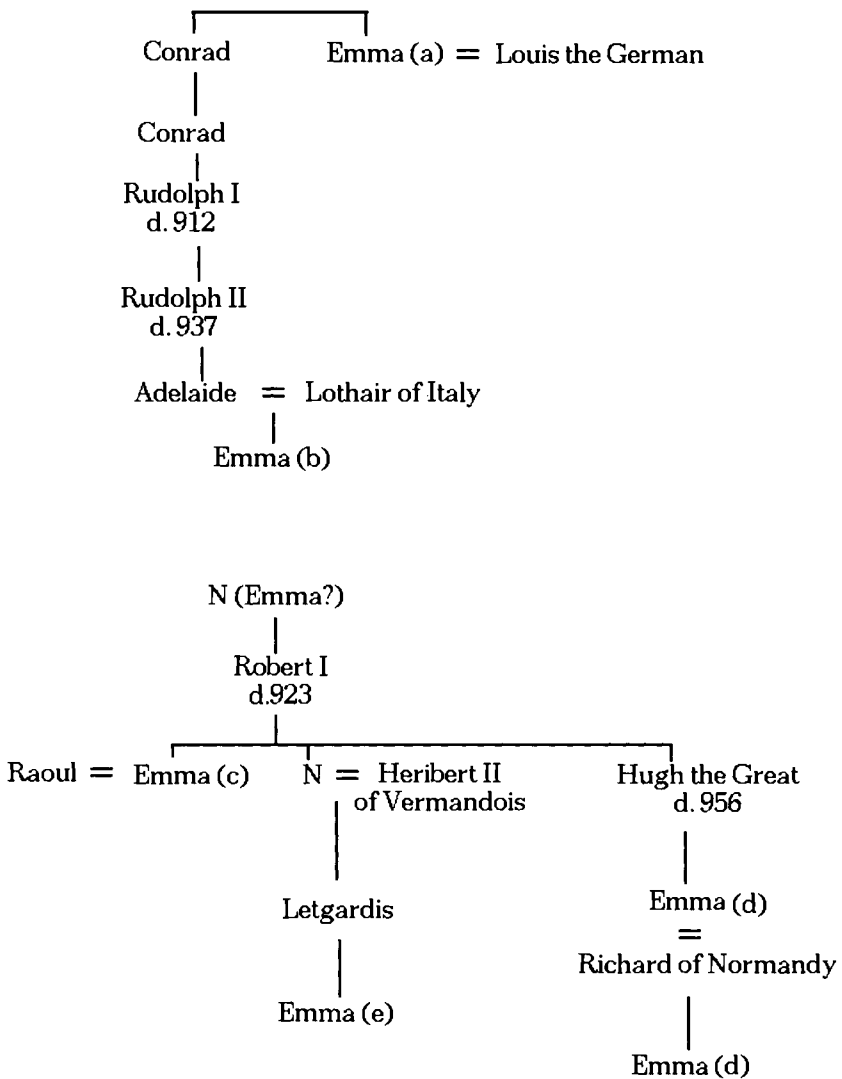


Figure 7.4. Migration of the name Emma.

Notes - Figure 7.4

a Witger, "Genealogia Arnulfi comitis," MGH SS 9:303; "Annales Xantenses" 819, 821, 826, MGH SS 2:236; Heiric, "Miracula S. Germani," MGH SS 13:401.

b Gerbert of Reims, *Die Briefsammlung*, ed. Fritz Weigle, pp. 104–5, no. 74.

c Flodoard, *Annales* 923, p. 7.

d William of Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum ducum* 4.12, 4.18, ed. Elisabeth M. C. Van Houts, 1:118–20, 128–30.

e "Genealogiae comitum Andegavensium," in *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou et des seigneurs d'Amboise*, ed. Louis Halphen and René Poupardin, p. 248.

The name Emma appears again among the close relatives of these two sisters, with the daughter of Hugh the Great, a woman who married the duke of Normandy. Because Hugh the Great and his half-sisters shared a father, Robert I, but not a mother, it is tempting to postulate that Emma was the name of Robert I's mother, the anonymous wife of Robert the Strong.¹³ Although there is no direct evidence that this was her name, it would certainly explain how the name became established in the Capetian and Vermandois lineages in the first place.

One more point may be made about the rather unusual name of Emma. By the middle of the tenth century, this name was apparently being bestowed on girls to connect them with their maternal, rather than paternal relatives. That is, the granddaughter of Heribert II who was named Emma was his daughter's daughter; and another Emma, the only child of King Lothair of Italy and his wife Adelaide, appears to have been named to commemorate her mother's great-great-great-great aunt Emma, the wife of Louis the German. Although the scantiness of the primary sources make firm conclusions impossible (and the Rudolphians may well have produced other, unattested women named Emma in the intervening century), it may well be that Lothair of Italy wanted to name his only child for a Carolingian queen to give her potential authority. Finally, Hugh the Great's daughter Emma, who married the duke of Normandy, named her own daughter Emma for herself, and this daughter went on to be queen of England in the early eleventh century.¹⁴

Gisela and Judith

A final example of women's names migrating between lineages is provided by the names Gisela and Judith (Fig. 7.5). Charlemagne's sister was named Gisela, and the name is found again among his daughters and the descendants of Louis the Pious by his first wife: Lothair I and Lothair II both had daughters named Gisela, and Lothair II's grandson Boso also gave this name to one of his daughters. But the name Gisela is found especially among the descendants of Louis the Pious and his second wife, Judith.¹⁵ Their son Charles the Bald named two of his daughters Gisela and Judith, after his sister and mother, and his son and grandson, Louis II and Charles the Simple, each named a daughter Gisela, for his own sister and aunt. Louis the Pious and Judith had one daughter, Gisela; she and her husband named two of their daughters Gisela and Judith. These girls' brother, King Berengar I of Italy, had a daughter named Gisela, the mother of King Berengar II, the father of still

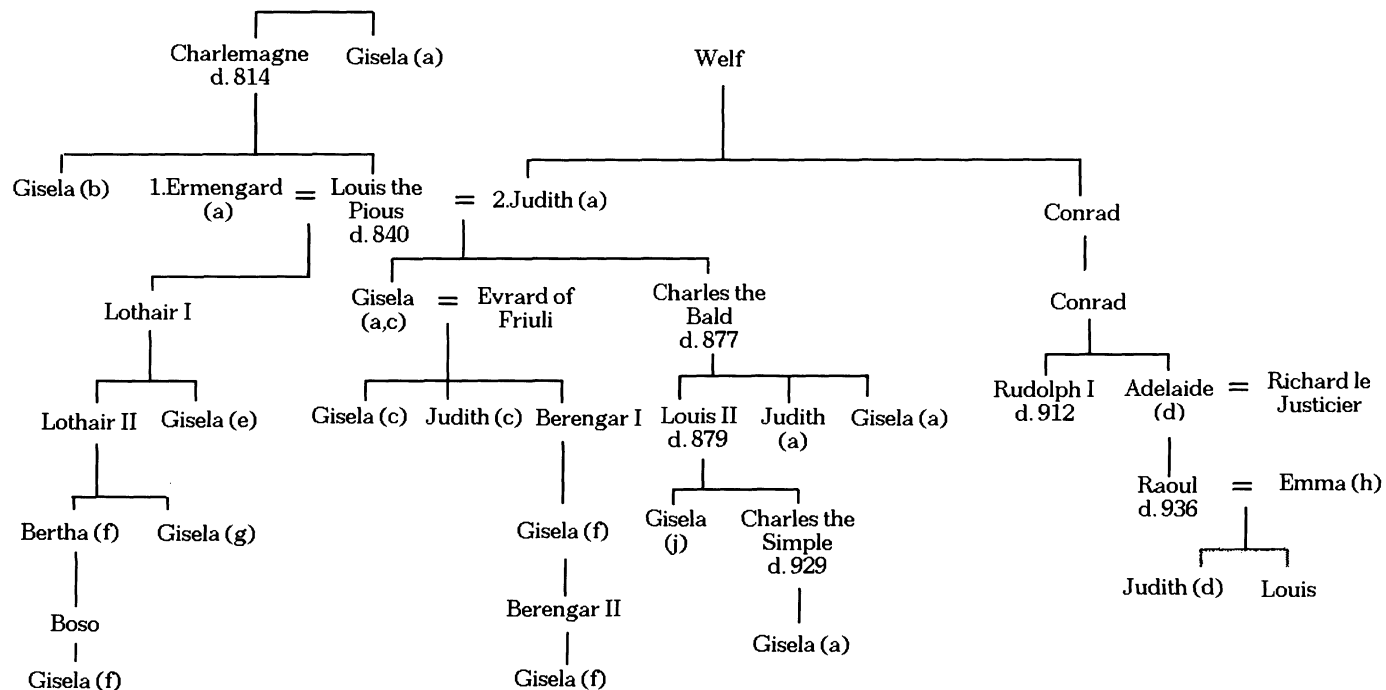


Figure 7.5. Migration of the names Gisela and Judith.

Notes - Figure 7.5

a Witger, “Genealogia Arnulfi comitis,” MGH SS 9:302–3.

b Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni* 18, MGH SS 2:453.

c *Cartulaire de l’abbaye de Cysoing*, ed. Ignace de Coussemaker, p. 11, no. 6.

d *Recueil des chartes de Cluny*, 1:358–61, no. 379.

e MGH DD Carolinorum 3:241, no. 101.

f *Annales Bertiniani* 879, ed. Félix Grat et al., p. 239; Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis* 1.39, 2.33, 4.11, 5.32, ed. Joseph Becker, pp. 28–29, 52–53, 109–10, 150–51.

g *Annales Vedastini* 882, MGH SS 2:199.

h Flodoard, *Annales* 923, p. 7.

j *Recueil des actes de Louis II le Bègue, Louis III et Carloman II, rois de France*, ed. Félix Grat et al., p. 214, no. 80.

another Gisela. Though the daughter of Louis and Judith had married Evrard of Friuli, a very powerful man in his own right, their descendants preserved the names of their maternal Carolingian relatives. In this case, it should be noted, Louis the Pious's daughter Gisela was able to name a daughter for her own mother, but the other women named Gisela and Judith in Fig. 7.5 were named for their fathers' relatives or, at most, for their own mothers.

Perhaps the most striking use of the name Judith is found in a lineage that had no Carolingian blood, that of the descendants of Richard le Justicier. Judith, wife of Louis the Pious, was the great-aunt of Rudolph I, king of Burgundy (888–912), first king in the lineage of the Welfs, and of Rudolph's sister Adelaide. Adelaide married Duke Richard le Justicier of Burgundy and bore Raoul (or Rudolph), who became king of France in 923.

Raoul's maternal uncle had been king of Burgundy, his paternal uncle had been king of Provence (Boso, 879–887), and his wife's father had been king of France (Robert I, 922–923), but Raoul's position was not very secure. None of his own ancestors had been kings. There was a Carolingian claimant to the throne, Charles the Simple, who had indeed been king before Robert I deposed him in 922. There was a legend at Sens in the eleventh century that Raoul was the godson of Charles the Simple, who agreed that Raoul should become king, but such an agreement is very unlikely. It is of course possible that Richard le Justicier, who had remained allied with the Carolingians until his own death in 921, had asked Charles to be Raoul's godfather, but any ties between them would have been broken when Raoul joined Robert's rebellion.¹⁶ Heribert of Vermandois, Raoul's (sometime) ally, kept Charles captive, but in 928 Raoul visited Charles at Reims where the latter was imprisoned, "made peace with him and humiliated himself before him," according to the contemporary chronicler Flodoard.¹⁷ Raoul seems to have found it necessary to placate Charles (even though he was not tempted to release him or return the crown to him).

Doubtless because of his tenuous situation, Raoul evidently felt the need to give his children names that would identify them as royal children, destined to rule. Rather than naming them for close relatives, he named them Louis and Judith, after Louis the Pious and his wife Judith, the marriage that had marked the beginning of the Welfs' ascension. There were no men named Louis in Raoul's ancestry at all, and the only known woman named Judith was his great-great-aunt, but the family clearly remembered this couple who had lived close to a century earlier, and Raoul chose the name Judith with the consciousness that this was the name of a queen. Unfortunately for Raoul's plans,

his son Louis predeceased him, and the crown returned to the Carolingians on his death in 936.¹⁸

The Growing Influence of Wives

This brief survey of how eight women's names migrated between aristocratic lineages suggests that, although wealth and power were inherited preferentially in the male line in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, women may have gained some measure of status and power in family affairs in this period that they lacked in the ninth and tenth centuries. Perhaps in the somewhat less chaotic period after the end of the Viking invasions and the civil wars between the last of the Carolingians and the great ducal families, men were not quite so apt to treat their wives and all their wives' relatives as outsiders. Surely significant as well was the growing legal and religious emphasis on the conjugal unit, in which both husband and wife played a role.¹⁹

Wives thus need to be seen as more than passive pawns, even in the political marriages arranged for them by their powerful relatives.²⁰ Both kings and men of the less powerful nobility were more willing by the High Middle Ages to name their daughters for their wives' relatives than they had been earlier. Since most nobles in the twelfth century married closer to home than did the great nobles of the ninth century, wives actually were less likely to be foreigners to their husbands than such ninth- and tenth-century brides as Otto I's Greek wife, Louis the Pious' daughter Gisela, who married a Lombard prince, or Hadwidis, daughter of Henry the Fowler, who grew up in Saxony but married Hugh the Great, duke of Paris. The patrilineal organization of wealth and power in the High Middle Ages did not keep women of the upper nobility from slowly increasing their influence, at least to the point that their husbands were willing to identify their daughters with their wives and their wives' relatives as well as with their own female ancestors.

Here it should also be noted that the migration of women's names indicates once more that, while a wife might be to some extent an outsider to her husband, she was very much part of the family to her sons and their descendants. To these people her name was a "family" name, entirely appropriate for their own daughters. Indeed, even outsiders to a powerful family in the Carolingian period considered widowed mothers so integral to it that they would support such women as regents for their sons.²¹

The example of women's names also indicates then that there was no

such thing as a group of female names attached to a particular male-defined lineage. As the men married women from outside a given lineage, new names constantly joined those already being given to daughters. Women's names thus migrated from one lineage to the next, being given, in the ninth and tenth centuries, to a woman's granddaughters, and, by the eleventh and twelfth centuries, often to a daughter as well. The readier acceptance by the men of the eleventh and twelfth centuries of names of their wives' relatives for their daughters (at least when naming them Beatrix, Hadwidis, Mathilda, Gerberge, Constance, Emma, Gisela, and Judith) also suggests that the patrilineal organization of family structure of the time was far from absolute, and that while in some aspects the emphasis on the male line was being strengthened, it was also being modified in other areas.

By the twelfth century, even kings and other members of the upper nobility seem to have relaxed somewhat their earlier insistence that their daughters be named for their own rather than their wives' relatives, and generations of marriages of kings' daughters with dukes and counts, and of dukes' and counts' daughters with viscounts and castellans, had spread royal blood and the names of queens through much of the western European nobility. The names that had once been those of kings' wives and kings' daughters are evidence that the distinction between different patrilineally defined families was more mental than biological. The nobles of the twelfth century considered themselves members of distinct lineages, identified at least in part by the repetition of the same male names over the generations. They also tended to repeat the same female names over the generations, but with a constant influx of new names which became established in different lineages as women married in. Concentrating on the male line, medieval nobles saw clear distinctions between their lineages. The migration of women's names between these self-consciously distinct units, however, indicates how closely they were intertwined.

EIGHT

Genealogy and Politics: The Counts of Autun and Countess Adelaide of Chalon

THE GENEALOGICAL SEARCH for relatives of the great lords of the past may sometimes seem the merest exercise in antiquarianism. But as I shall demonstrate in this chapter, determining how people were or were not related does much more than allow one to draw family trees. The process casts important light on the exercise of political authority, and the extent to which office and power were—or were not—hereditary. Here I shall use the example of the counts of Autun, the men who held this office in the ninth and tenth centuries, and of Countess Adelaide of Chalon, a powerful woman of the end of the tenth century, to argue that hereditary counts, who scholars long assumed replaced temporarily appointed counts during the reign of Charles the Bald, were by no means universal in the late Carolingian age, and that efforts to connect the families of the men who ruled such counties may be more indicative of twentieth-century than of medieval ideas of political legitimacy.

I shall begin with the counts of Autun, a group that included some of the most powerful men of the Carolingian empire, but which tends to be referred to in only the vaguest terms by modern scholars because there is no convenient term for their family (as I shall indicate below, they cannot in fact all be put in the same family tree anyway). The closest things to modern listings of ninth- and tenth-century counts of Autun are those drawn up in the late 1930s by Léon Levillain and Maurice Chaume. Levillain's was part of his study of the "historic Nibelungen" and included thirteen different names, at least one of whom ("Bernard the Nibelungen") he later decided was not a real person at all. Chaume's study, the more influential of the two, was part of a determined effort to demonstrate hereditary continuities in public office from the beginning of the Carolingian era. Although it might seem rather petty of

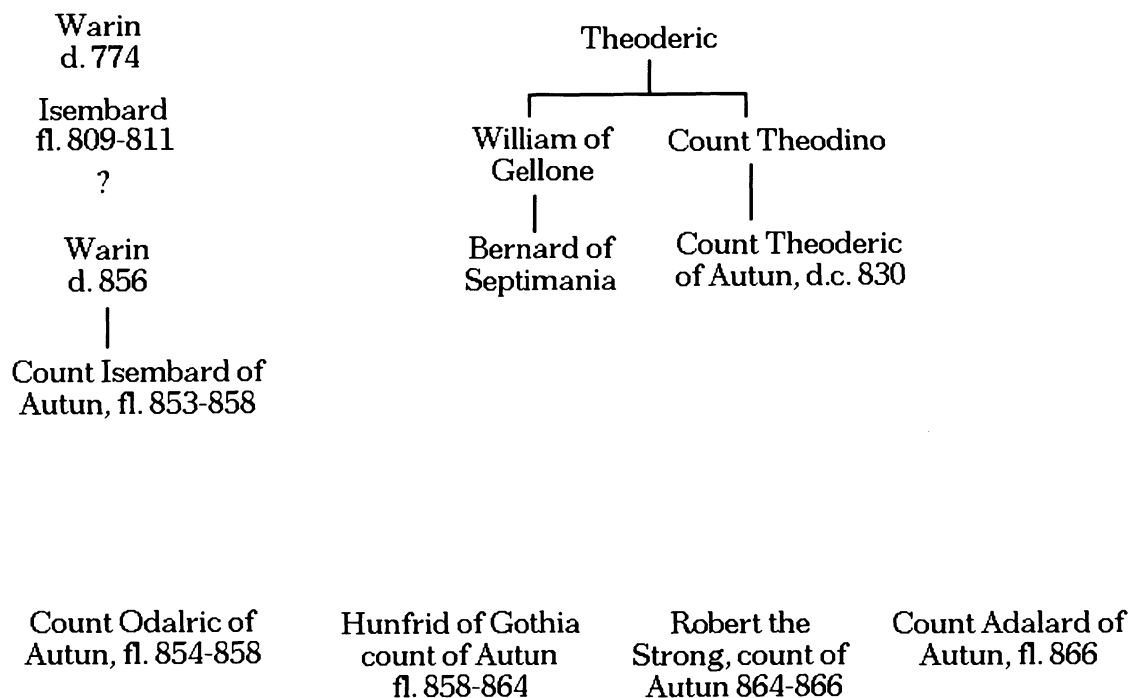


Figure 8.1. The counts of Autun in the ninth century.

me to be attacking the conclusions that a pioneering scholar drew over sixty years ago, Chaume's impressive knowledge of the primary sources—and the unwillingness of subsequent scholars to spend years redoing family trees—have resulted in continued acceptance of his reconstructions of family and office-holding.¹

Much of the difficulty all scholars have had in sorting out the counts of Autun has been a pervasive belief that each county should have one and only one count. However, a reexamination of the evidence for the connections and family ties of men known to have acted as count at Autun (whether they were actually counts “of” Autun) indicates a far from perfect correspondence between counts and counties. These counts were members of a relatively small group attached to the kings, but changing circumstances might give them authority in different counties. Even without one count dying or losing royal favor, another man might become *comes et missus* in the same county. And counts might be charged with the administration of multiple counties at the same time.

These practices are seen, for example, in the “Capitulare missorum” of Charles the Bald from 853, in which he appointed *missi* for different regions, and appointed two bishops, an abbot, and Count Isembard as his *missi* for Burgundy, which was described as “the counties of Milo and the counties of Isembard, that is, Autun, Mâcon, Dijon, Chalon, Atuyer, Tonnerre, Beaune, and Duesme.”² Neither Milo nor Isembard was actually count “of” all this territory, nor were the counties divided up between them, but both of them, in the early 850s, had administrative authority in that area for at least a short time.

The Relatives of Isembard

This *missus* Isembard is a member of the first group of relatives which I shall discuss here (see Fig. 8.1). He is also found in other sources from Burgundy from the 850s. He gave the church of Autun a basilica in 854, a gift confirmed by Charles the Bald, and he is doubtless the same man as the Isembard who witnessed one of the king's charters in 858, and who was called a *fidelis* both of Charles the Bald and of Marquis Hunfrid of Gothia in a charter from 859.³ The name Isembard is extremely unusual, but there is also a count Isembard mentioned as captured by William, the oldest son of Bernard of Septimania, in the *Annales Bertiniani* for 850; this capture took place shortly before William's own death (for William, see Chapter 4). A fragmentary chronicle, reporting

the same event, adds that Isembard was “son of Warin.”⁴ Isembard was thus son of one of the most powerful men attached to the Carolingian court in the first half of the ninth century, a man who appeared repeatedly in Burgundian affairs. Isembard’s father Warin, called both count and marquis in contemporary sources, is most likely the same as the Count Warin who, with his wife Albana or Ava, acquired the *villa* of Cluny (where the abbey would later be founded) in 825.⁵ He may also be the Count Warin who was called “count of the Auvergne” in 819.⁶ He served Louis the Pious as a legate in Burgundy, held Chalon against the rebellious Lothair, and barely escaped with his life in 834 when the sons of Louis the Pious were trying to kill the relatives and supporters of their father’s hated chancellor, Bernard of Septimania. Warin was however reconciled with Charles the Bald in 841.⁷ He appeared in charters issued by Charles for the regions of Lyon and Beaune.⁸ But it is important to note that Warin, unlike his son Isembard, was never named count of Autun.

It may indeed be *because* he was already such an important figure in Burgundy that no king wanted to give him the county of Autun. His importance in the region may be seen especially in his relationship to the local churches. He rebuilt St.-Marcel of Chalon in 835 (presumably after the destructive wars of 834), and became rector of the Burgundian house of Flavigny by 849, an office he held until his death in 856.⁹ The date of his death is given in Flavigny’s list of abbots. Chaume however stated that he must have died in 853, the year Isembard first acted as *missus* of Charles the Bald, in the belief that Isembard would not have done so were his father still alive.¹⁰ Here it is interesting to note that it is too easy for the modern scholar to try to change the information in the sources to try to confirm presuppositions about the transfer of political power.

These two generations, Warin and his son Isembard, are all one knows for certain about this particular family. Warin most likely had a daughter named Ava, as noted in Appendix A, but it is not clear from the sources who Warin’s father was, nor if Isembard had any sons. However, it is intriguing to note that another man named Isembard lived a generation before Count Warin, and another man named Warin a generation before that. The earlier Isembard served in the army of Louis the Pious in 809 and 811,¹¹ and the earlier Count Warin witnessed a gift to Prüm from King Pippin the Short in 762 and left the allegiance of Carloman for his brother Charlemagne in 771.¹² This is presumably the same Warin as the man who, with a certain Ruadhard, was said to “administer all Allemania” and who attacked the abbey of St.-Gall in 760 and died in 774.¹³

The relationships are perhaps supported by the description by Notker

the Stammerer of a certain Isembard, son of Warin, who was at Charlemagne's court at the end of the eighth century and killed a ferocious beast that had threatened the king.¹⁴ As Notker was writing well after the fact, one could however argue that he designated the Isembard who lived around 800 as "Isembard, son of Warin," only because there was an Isembard, son of Warin, who was his own contemporary. At any rate, it is certainly tempting to see the Isembard of Charlemagne's court as an immediate predecessor, even a father, to Warin, and the Warin of the second half of the eighth century as *his* immediate predecessor, but it would be folly to make a firm four-generational family tree of alternating Warins and Isembards, and equally folly to talk in vague terms of "the clan of the Guérins." All one can actually say is that Isembard acted as count at Autun in the 850s, and that Count Warin, who appears to have been his father, was always active in Burgundy. This first group of relatives certainly suggests no hereditary claims to the county of Autun in the mid-ninth century.

The Relatives of the Dukes of Septimania

A second group of relatives who sometimes produced counts of Autun was that of the dukes of Septimania, relatives of Bernard of Septimania, mentioned above. This family had its beginnings in the late eighth century with a man called Theoderic, probably the Theoderic who appears in charters of Charles Martel, Pippin the Short, and Charlemagne between 741 and 775 as a *fidelis*, *vassus*, and *comes* of the mayors and kings.¹⁵ This Theoderic was probably born around 720 and was the son of a man named Bernarius, as discussed in Appendix A, but for present purposes Theoderic can be taken as the beginning of his line. Here it is interesting to note that, because Chaume believed that the county of Autun must have been held by closely related family members, he redated one of the charters of this Theoderic's grandson (also named Theoderic), who *was* count of Autun, changing the date from 818 to 755, in order to give this office to the elder Theoderic as well.¹⁶

Nothing, however, explicitly links this Theoderic with Autun, and his oldest son William ("Saint William of Gellone") appears primarily in the south of France. But the county of Autun does seem to have been held, at least briefly, by William's brother Theodino. The latter was recalled as having been count of Autun in an 861 charter of Charles the Bald, and Theodino's son Theoderic, also mentioned in this charter, appeared as count in charters from between 815 and 820.¹⁷ He lived until at least 826, because he acted as

godfather for the oldest son of his cousin Bernard of Septimania, born in that year.¹⁸ This Count Theoderic is not known to have had any sons. According to Dhuoda, wife of Bernard of Septimania, Theoderic left his inheritance to Bernard. Here is the first indication that the county of Autun could have been treated as a hereditary office, for this inheritance may have included Autun. The chronicler Nithard spoke of Bernard having *honores* in Burgundy which were given to his oldest son, and his second son, Bernard Plantapilosa, is known to have had Autun among his other *honores* (see below).¹⁹ But even though two cousins from the family of the dukes of Septimania could both claim at different times to be counts of Autun, other men also appeared during their lifetimes holding that office.

Other Ninth-Century Counts of Autun

Three men unconnected by blood either to Isembard and Warin or to the dukes of Septimania acted as counts at Autun in the mid-ninth century, Odalric, Hunfrid, and Adalard. Odalric was called a marquis in an 854 charter of Charles the Bald and was referred to in 861 as a previous count of Autun.²⁰ Hunfrid, marquis of Gothia, was called count of Autun in 861.²¹ He seems to have been more interested, however, in southern France than in Burgundy. He drove Raymund of Toulouse out of Toulouse in 863, but he himself was driven out of both Toulouse and Gothia in 864, after which he went to Italy and passes out of the records. A few years later, the countess Betta gave a villa to St.-Bénigne for her husband Hunfrid's soul.²² Odalric and Hunfrid had been contemporaries, and contemporaries of the above-discussed Isembard, even though they were not all counts of Autun at the same time, for the three all signed an 858 "Sacramentum" of Charles the Bald.²³

Odalric is not seen after 858, and Isembard disappears from the records after 859, while Hunfrid, as mentioned above, disappeared into Italy in 864. It seems to have been during the early 860s that Bernard Plantapilosa, son of Bernard of Septimania, acted as count of Autun, for the *Annales Bertiniani* say that Plantapilosa's *honores* were given to Robert the Strong in 864, and further that in 866 Robert suggested that Autun, his since 864, should be given to Charles the Bald's heir Louis.²⁴ Louis does not in fact seem to have acted as an independent count of Autun, and since Robert the Strong was killed in 866 he too was no longer count of Autun, but Robert still has to be included among the men who acted, at least briefly, as counts in Autun.

After this, one Adalard was count in Autun. He was called count and

abbot of St.-Symphorien of Autun in 866 and helped the bishop of Autun settle a quarrel a few years later.²⁵ He may be the Count Adalard related “by blood, affinity, or propinquity” to Count Girard [of Roussillon] and his wife Bertha, mentioned when Girard and Bertha founded Vézelay in 858/9.²⁶ Whatever Count Adalard’s family connections, he is best understood as one of a rather large group of men who were all appointed, for brief periods, as counts of Autun in the late 850s and 860s, without being related.

The Historic Nibelungen, the Bosonids, and Their Connections

At the same time that Theodino and his son Theoderic, Theoderic’s cousin Bernard, and the unrelated counts Isembard, Odalric, Hunfrid, and Adalard all appeared at Autun, there was another family that also produced counts of Autun, the so-called “historic Nibelungen” (see Fig. 8.2). Family members were cousins of the Carolingians. They began with Childebrand I, called a *germanus* of Charles Martel (probably half-brother, by different mothers) and *avunculus* of Pippin the Short. During the early 750s Childebrand was succeeded by his son Nibelung I.²⁷ The latter was apparently father of a man named Tetbert, father of Ingeltrudis, who married Pippin I of Aquitaine (himself son of Louis the Pious).²⁸

Nibelung is also generally presumed to be the father of Count Childebrand II, who appears in charters from St.-Benoît as count of Autun in 796 and again in 818, along with Count Theoderic. Nibelung I is also usually taken to be father of Count Nibelung II, who appears in another 818 charter for St.-Benoît along with Theoderic, reclaiming what Charlemagne had given Childebrand I.²⁹ That Childebrand II and Nibelung II appeared around the same time at the same monastery suggests they were brothers, and their names suggest they were sons of Nibelung I and grandsons of Childebrand I, but one cannot be positive.

Count Childebrand II is doubtless the same as the Childebrand who married a woman named Dunnana and was the father of Count Eccard.³⁰ Eccard first appeared as count in 836, when King Pippin of Aquitaine gave him some property at Autun, calling him his *fidelis*. Louis the Pious confirmed him in this property in 839.³¹ Eccard again acted at Autun in 863.³² Sometime toward the end of the 860s he quarreled with the bishop of Bourges over property the Merovingian kings and Pippin the Short had given to Nibelung I, which gives a measure of certainty to the hypothesis that Eccard was Nibelung I’s grandson.³³

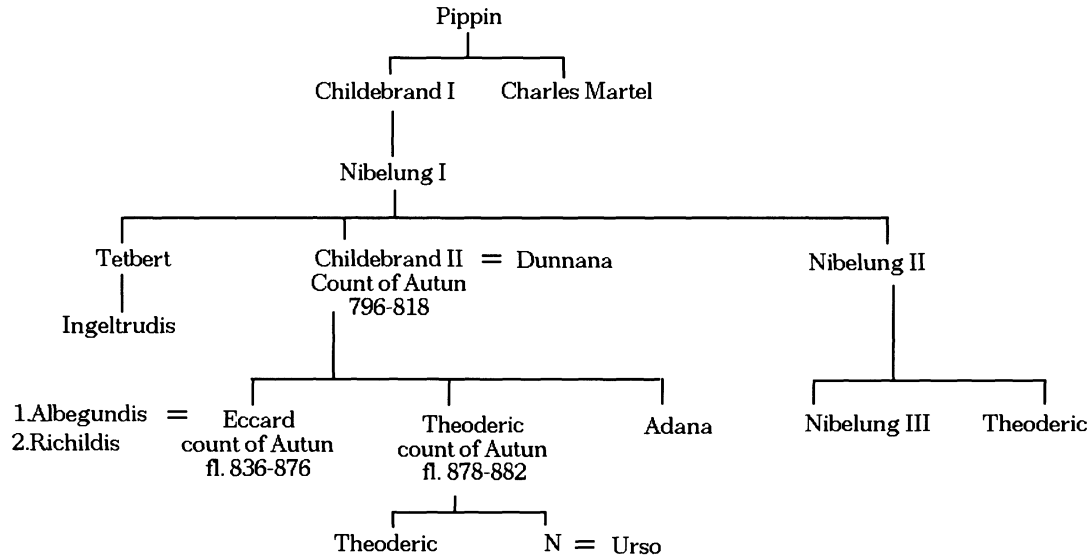


Figure 8.2. The historic Nibelungen.

When Eccard was dying in 876, he arranged for gifts to St.-Benoît of Fleury, recalling family members for whom he wanted the monks to pray. This included his parents, Childebrand and Dunnana, his brother (*germanus*) Theoderic, his sister Adana, a nun, and his two wives, Albegundis and Richildis.³⁴ He also made mention of the brothers Nibelung and Theoderic, to whom he commended certain aspects of his will. These brothers, Levillain suggested, were Eccard's first cousins, sons of Nibelung II. The Nibelung [III] may be identical with the man of that name who acted in the Gâtinais in 842 and as count of the Vexin in 864.³⁵

Eccard's brother Theoderic succeeded briefly as count in Autun. (The name Theoderic suggests a connection with the counts Theodino and Theoderic of the beginning of the century. It is possible that Nibelung I married a woman from the family of Theodino and William of Gellone, but this is purest speculation.) He was among the counts to whom Charles the Bald entrusted his son Louis in 877, and he served as chamberlain for King Louis. When Bernard of Gothia was disgraced and excommunicated in 878, Theoderic received some of his *honores*.³⁶ The *Annales Vedastini*, reporting on this event from a distance, said that Bernard had been duke of Autun, which has confused several scholars into thinking that Bernard of Gothia was also count of Autun, which he clearly was not. The reason for this confusion is that Bernard of Gothia seems to have fled from the king to Autun, and then on to Troyes, and the account of his flight in the *Annales Bertiniani* notes that Louis had given the county of Autun to Theoderic.³⁷

In 879, Theoderic was called count of Autun in a charter of King Louis II, but this was his last appearance as count there, for also in that year he made an exchange with Boso, the future king of Provence, giving him the county of Autun in return for some abbeys.³⁸ Theoderic was still alive in 882, when the *Annales Bertiniani* report him leading an army against the Norsemen, but in 885 his son Theoderic and son-in-law Urso spoke of him as dead and confirmed their uncle Eccard's gifts to Fleury.³⁹

The Bosonids, who held the county of Autun during the later ninth century (Fig. 8.3), are sometimes seen by modern scholars as connected by blood as well as alliance to the family of the "historic Nibelungen." Boso, according to a charter of Bishop Adalgar of Autun from 879, succeeded to the county of Autun "peacefully."⁴⁰ Perhaps part of the reason his succession was peaceful, as well as his agreement with Theoderic, was that he was a relative. Eccard's second wife was named Richildis, as noted above, and this was also the name of Boso's sister and, according to most scholars, his mother. Boso was not Eccard's son, but rather son of Bivin, as the *Annales Bertiniani* make clear,

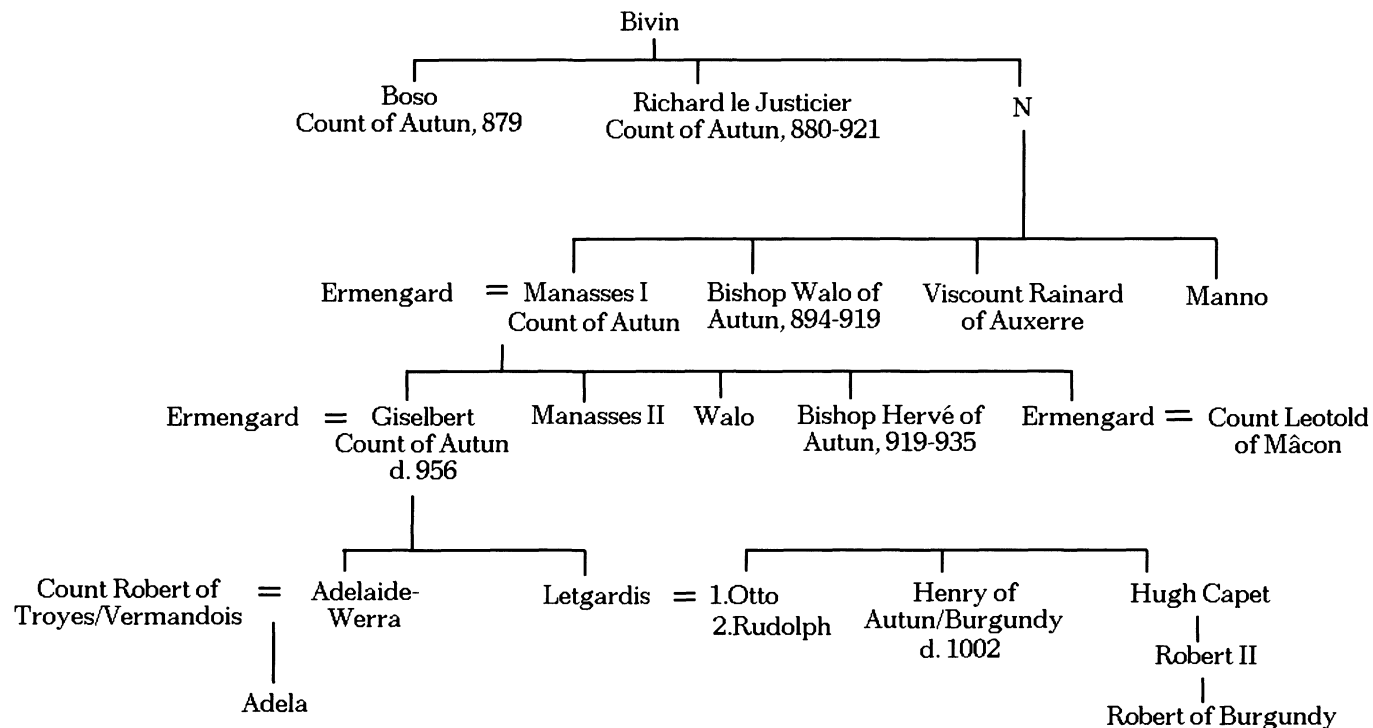


Figure 8.3. The Bosonid counts of Autun.

and he was at any rate active long before Eccard could have married Boso's mother as his second wife, but were Boso Eccard's step-son both he and Eccard's brother Theoderic may have felt he had some claim to Autun.

But Boso did not keep Autun for long. After he became king in 879, the grandsons of Charles the Bald and his own brother Richard attacked him, as detailed in Chapter 5, and in 880 the king referred to Richard as count of Autun, and the *Annales Bertiniani* for 882 called Autun his county.⁴¹ A few years later Richard was acting as count and abbot of St.-Symphorien of Autun.⁴² Richard kept Autun until his death in 921. Some earlier scholars, rather than making Richard the full brother of King Boso and thus son of Bivin, suggested that he was the son of Count Theoderic of Autun,⁴³ but this seems merely to have been an attempt to legitimize the transfer of authority in Autun to Richard. Scholars no longer make such an identification, for the *Annales Bertiniani* are quite clear about Richard's relationship to Boso—and indeed, on onomastic grounds, one might conclude he was nephew of Richard the *ostiarius*, Bivin's brother, even without other good primary evidence.

Regardless of these genealogical details, however, what is most striking about Richard's accession to the county of Autun is that he was able to hold onto it for forty years. None of the dozen or so men who were counts of Autun at one time or another during the previous century had held the office for more than a few years at a time. The very number of different men to be called count by the kings and able to exercise authority at Autun indicates that even more elaborate scholarly attempts to draw family trees connecting them all are pointless. Clearly the first four Carolingian kings of France were careful to avoid allowing any man or any family to build up the kind of power-base at Autun that would have made them into a serious challenge.

Equally clearly, after the death of Charles the Bald, this situation changed. The accession to the thrones of the old Carolingian empire, first by the Bosonids and then by several other non-Carolingian lineages, was discussed in Chapter 5. The Carolingian kings of the end of the ninth century and the tenth were much less concerned about moving counties around among different counts. This is the period in which, it is now assumed, the hereditary principle first began to take hold⁴⁴—although it is important to note that one cannot say that the sudden stability in the county of Autun was due to the rise of heritable counties, for the county was not held by a single *lineage* for these forty years, but rather by a single person.

The Relatives of Manasses

And the county of Autun did not in fact become the hereditary possession of Richard's sons, even though he had three who grew to adulthood, Raoul, Hugh the Black, and Boso. After the death of Richard le Justicier in 921, his rule in Burgundy, which included Autun, passed to Manasses I, Richard's sister's son (see Appendix B). By the tenth century, as discussed in Chapter 4, fathers normally expected their sons to inherit, but the example of Richard le Justicier suggests that fathers did not blindly follow a patrilineal rule in dividing up their property. Certainly none of his three sons had anything to complain about, as all were well provided for—and Raoul became king of France (see above, Chapter 5). But Richard also intended at least some of his authority to pass to those who were not his sons.

Manasses I was one of four powerful allies who exercised rule and authority in Burgundy and France in the first decades of the tenth century, along with Richard le Justicier himself, Robert I, who became king for the last year of his life, and Heribert I of Vermandois. Here it is interesting to note that although Richard and Manasses were related as uncle and nephew, Robert and Heribert became related only through marriage: Robert's two daughters married Raoul, Richard's son, and Heribert's son Heribert II.

The names of Manasses I's parents are not known, neither his mother, the sister of Richard le Justicier, nor his father. Manasses is however known to have had three brothers: Bishop Walo of Autun (894–919), Viscount Rainard of Auxerre, and Manno.⁴⁵ None of these except Manasses, who married a woman named Ermengard, is known to have had any children himself. (Manasses's wife is often made a daughter of King Boso, but this is based on a misreading of the "Series" of the abbots of Flavigny; see Appendix B.) The next person to exercise authority at Autun was Manasses's son, Count Giselbert, who also seems to have been count of Dijon. Giselbert had taken office by 925, suggesting that his father was dead by then.⁴⁶ It is interesting to note that this hereditary succession, from a father to a son, was the first such succession to the county of Autun to take place without at least some other men claiming the office, since its counts first appeared in the records some 150 years earlier.

Giselbert had at least three brothers, Manasses II, Walo, and Hervé, the latter of whom succeeded his uncle as bishop of Autun (919–935).⁴⁷ He also had a sister named Ermengard, who married Count Leotold of Mâcon (d. 962) and was the mother of Count Alberic II (d. 980).⁴⁸ Giselbert married a woman named Ermengard, like his sister and mother. This Ermengard, like

her mother-in-law, has often been made a relative of Richard le Justicier by modern scholars, usually being called a daughter of Hugh the Black, Richard's second son.⁴⁹ But such a connection is not only unattested but unlikely; Giselbert would have been the second cousin of a daughter of Hugh the Black. Another suggestion, that Giselbert's wife Ermengard was daughter of Count Louis of Thurgau,⁵⁰ is ingenious but based on nothing more than an attempt to find the origins of some given names of two generations later.

Although Giselbert and Ermengard do not seem to have had any surviving sons, they did have two daughters. One, named Adelaide, sometimes called "Werra," married Count Robert of Troyes. The other, Letgardis, married Otto, brother of Hugh Capet, in 956, the same year that Giselbert died. According to Clarius of Sens, Otto took Giselbert's duchy of Burgundy along with his daughter; neither Giselbert nor any of his brothers had any known sons. However, Count Rudolph of Dijon carried Letgardis off two years later and eventually married her. This Count Rudolph is somewhat obscure, but it is most likely that he was either the brother or the uncle of Count Lambert of Chalon.⁵¹

After Otto's death in 965, his brother Henry (sometimes called Henry-Odo, d. 1002) claimed Burgundy, including Autun—essentially the entire area once ruled by Richard le Justicier. Any claim that Rudolph may have had to the territory through Letgardis proved evanescent. There continued to be people in the region with names that evoked the lineage of Manasses and Giselbert, including the counts of Auxois of the eleventh century, a lineage that included the name of Walo. In addition, the sculptor Gislebertus, responsible for the tympanum of Autun cathedral in the twelfth century, carried a name that evoked Autun's past.⁵² But if any of these were direct descendants of the tenth-century counts of Autun the connection can only be speculated upon, and they never held the county of Autun again.

Once Otto's and Henry's older brother Hugh Capet became king of France in 987, Burgundy, including Autun, became firmly attached to the French crown. Hugh Capet's son, King Robert II, intended Burgundy to go to his second son. When his oldest son died young, leaving this second son (Henry) as the heir to the throne, the king instead designated his third son, Robert, as heir to Burgundy. Duke Robert I and his successors ruled Burgundy, including Autun, for the next two hundred years.

The county of Autun, then, functions as something of a microcosm of the changes taking place in the office of count in the ninth and tenth century. The vision of hereditary counties being in place since the eighth century, as expounded by several scholars during the 1930s, has long since been super-

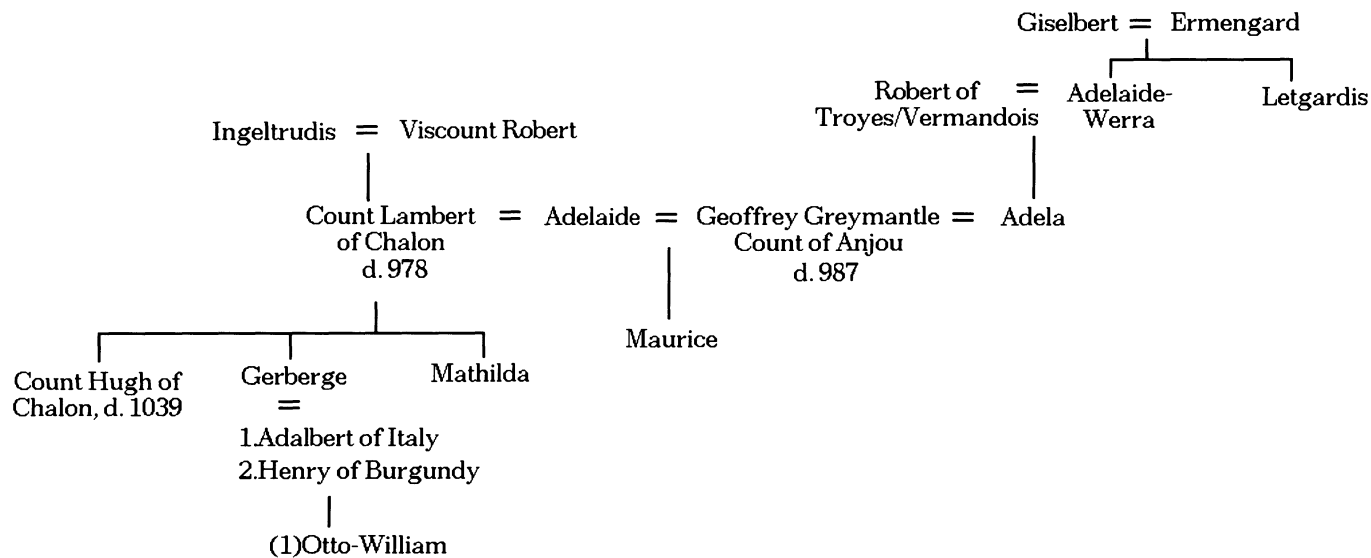


Figure 8.4. The family of Countess Adelaide of Chalon.

seded—even though, curiously enough, the family trees drawn up to support this vision continue to be reproduced in some more recent works. The more recent interpretation of ninth-century Carolingian counties, as offices the kings routinely distributed and redistributed to those who served as their faithful agents, is fully supported by the complicated history of Autun, where a number of different men, some related, most not, held the office at royal command. Then, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Autun may be seen as emblematic of the attempts by the kings and great French dukes to expand and centralize their power.

The tenth century is somewhat more problematic, because, although counts like Richard le Justicier certainly did not have to worry about being replaced in Burgundy by a different royal favorite, the office of count was not necessarily hereditary either—or at least not something the oldest son could automatically assume. Further light on accession to counties in the tenth century can be cast by the example of Countess Adelaide of Chalon, whose own history has engaged scholars for generations, and who, it is often thought, was somehow related to the descendants of Manasses and hence to Richard le Justicier.

Adelaide of Chalon

One of the most important yet mysterious figures from the late tenth century is Adelaide, countess of Chalon. Generations of scholars have studied her, and yet there is no consensus on her origins or family—or even whether she was the only woman named Adelaide who married Count Lambert of Chalon, first of the line of hereditary counts (d. 978). Some of the suggestions for her ancestry have been based on assumptions about the nature of hereditary authority: since Lambert's own ancestors do not seem to have held power at Chalon, though he very clearly did, scholars have often struggled to make her into the heiress of that county. Alternately, the appearance of the “royal” names Gerberge and Mathilda among her daughters has suggested to other scholars that she herself may have been of royal birth. Thus, the study of this woman and her family and connections is more than a genealogical puzzle. It is a test of the ways genealogical information can be used to construct a picture of power and politics in the tenth and eleventh centuries (see Fig. 8.4).

The basic outlines of her career and those of her children are fairly clear.⁵³ She was the wife of Count Lambert, who established a dynasty at Chalon that would last until the thirteenth century. Lambert was the son of a viscount,

with no hereditary claim to Chalon, but as noted in Chapter 2 he seems to have been made count by one of the final Carolingian kings, Louis IV or Lothair. A document from around the time of his death recalled that he obtained his county “assentante rege primoribusque Franciae.”⁵⁴ Exactly when the king and the great Frankish lords assented to his taking up the county cannot be dated, although it was certainly by 960, when Lambert first appears with a comital title.⁵⁵ Most likely he took power around 956, when Count Giselbert died, but the role of the king means that one does not have to attach Lambert by marriage to Giselbert’s family.

By Lambert Adelaide had one son, Hugh, count of Chalon and bishop of Auxerre (999–1039), and two daughters, Gerberge and Mathilda. Gerberge married first Adalbert, last count of Italy, to whom she bore Count Otto-William of Burgundy, and then Duke Henry of Burgundy, younger brother of Hugh Capet. Mathilda married Geoffrey, lord of Semur, becoming by him the ancestor of succeeding counts of Chalon. After Count Lambert died, Adelaide was married a second time, to Geoffrey Grey mantle, count of Anjou (d. 987). (Geoffrey’s first wife, Adela, had been the daughter of Robert of Vermandois.) By Geoffrey Adelaide had one son, named Maurice, the name of the patron saint of Angers.⁵⁶

Even this basic outline has been somewhat difficult to construct. It is quite clear from charters of her son Hugh that after Lambert’s death Adelaide married a man named Geoffrey, but for a long time scholars assumed that he must be Geoffrey of Semur, ancestor of subsequent counts of Chalon.⁵⁷ This unlikely identification has had to be rejected, however. Adelaide could not very well have married Geoffrey of Semur, her own daughter’s husband, and thus scholars have had to create a hypothetical father of Geoffrey of Semur, also named Geoffrey, to be Adelaide’s second husband. However, Geoffrey of Semur, Mathilda’s husband, was son of a man named Joceran, not Geoffrey.⁵⁸ (And it is difficult, although some have tried, to make Joceran and Geoffrey, *Gauzramnus* and *Godefridus*, into the same name.)

There were frequent contacts between Burgundy and Anjou in the tenth and eleventh centuries, making a marriage between the widowed Adelaide of Chalon and Geoffrey Grey mantle of Anjou entirely feasible. Although no charter explicitly says that the countess of Chalon married the count of Anjou, the sources are still remarkably unambiguous. Geoffrey of Anjou, widowed in the late 970s, married a woman named Adelaide as his second wife, according to the Angevin charters, and had a son named Maurice. Meanwhile Adelaide of Chalon, widowed at the same time, married a man named Geoffrey as her second husband according to the Burgundian charters, a man who disappears

from the records around 987, the year Geoffrey of Anjou died, and had by him a son named Maurice.⁵⁹ With this evidence, it would be difficult to dispute the identity of Adelaide's second spouse.

Just as there has been scholarly argument over Adelaide's second husband, so there have been arguments about whether Adelaide was Lambert's only wife and the mother of all his children. Most modern scholars make Gerberge the daughter of a hypothetical earlier marriage of Lambert rather than the marriage that produced Mathilda and Lambert's heir Hugh. The only evidence for this seems to be that Gerberge is referred to as Hugh's *germana* rather than his *soror*.⁶⁰ Since, however, *germana* was used in the documents of the time to refer to a full sister at least as often as a half-sister, and especially since the author had only a few lines before said that Hugh had no *germanus frater*, although he is known to have had at least one half-brother, Maurice (thus using *germanus* to mean a full brother), it seems an unnecessary complication to make Gerberge the daughter of an unknown first wife of Lambert. An attempt by some nineteenth-century historians to make Gerberge the daughter of someone other than Lambert (translating *germana* as cousin) has no support in the sources.⁶¹

If Adelaide's own career has been at least somewhat murky, that of her natal family has been vigorously debated. Most commonly, she is made a daughter of Count Giselbert and his wife Ermengard, who were powerful in Burgundy in the mid-tenth century, as discussed above. This couple had two daughters, named Adelaide — or Adelaide-Werra — and Letgardis. The countess of Chalon has often been made a third daughter of this couple.⁶² Another possibility, first put forward by André Duchesne in 1625 and enjoying continued support in the twentieth century, is that Countess Adelaide of Chalon was not the sister but the daughter of Adelaide-Werra, and thus the granddaughter of Giselbert.⁶³

Because Geoffrey Greymantle married Adela, daughter of Adelaide-Werra and Robert of Vermandois/Troyes, as his first wife, it seems however highly unlikely that Adelaide of Chalon could have been a sister of Adelaide-Werra; if so, then Geoffrey would have married his first wife's aunt as his second wife. The other frequently proposed connection for Adelaide of Chalon, that she, like Adela, was a daughter of Adelaide-Werra, would have meant that Geoffrey Greymantle successively married sisters. While perhaps more likely than that he married first the niece and then the aunt, it would be curious that none of the Angevin chroniclers commented on this. It may also be noted that, since the whole purpose of linking Adelaide of Chalon to Giselbert and his daughter Adelaide-Werra is to explain Lambert's "inheritance"

of Chalon, then making Adelaide the daughter of Adelaide-Werra and Robert of Troyes does not work for this purpose, because Robert was still alive well after Lambert took up his rule at Chalon.⁶⁴

Although some sort of connection to Count Gisibert has been the most common proposal for Adelaide's family, other alternatives have been suggested. For example, Chaume made Adelaide the daughter or granddaughter of Charles-Constantine, count of Vienne and the son of the emperor Louis the Blind.⁶⁵ Sometimes she is called the lady of Cosne and Varzy, an identification based on a misreading of the *vita* of her son Hugh.⁶⁶ Other suggestions that have received no scholarly support in the last century include calling Adelaide the sister of Count William I of Arles or else the daughter of Count Alberic I of Mâcon.⁶⁷ A more recent suggestion, also not supported by the sources, has been (again) to split Countess Adelaide into two people, making Geoffrey Greymantle's second wife Adelaide the daughter of Count Gisibert and of Ermengard, but Count Lambert of Chalon's wife Adelaide someone quite different, the daughter of Raymond of Gothia and of Adelaide-Blanche, Geoffrey Greymantle's sister.⁶⁸

Most recently, Christian Settipani has argued that the names Mathilda and Gerberge among Adelaide's daughters must make her a close relative of Henry the Fowler, king of Germany, whose sister was named Gerberge and wife Mathilda.⁶⁹ But as he recognized himself, all of his proposed connections have problems; additionally, several would require that Otto-William, Adelaide's grandson, marry a first or second cousin, because his wife Ermentrude *was* descended from Henry the Fowler (a descent which of course cannot explain "Ottonian" women's names for her husband's mother and aunt). In addition, even assuming that Adelaide and Lambert named their daughters for relatives, one need not conclude that these were *Adelaide's* relatives, for they could equally well be Lambert's. The family of Lambert's mother Ingeltrudis is not known, and in addition he had paternal relatives named Robert and Rudolph, "royal" names that might seem surprising in a family of viscounts. But if one assumes that these male names were originally bestowed on this viscomital lineage as the names of lords, not of relatives, then the same could be true of "royal" female names. Thus the names of Adelaide's daughters cannot be taken as proof of her own family origins.

I would like to propose a quite different family for Adelaide, that she was related to Adelaide, wife of Hugh Capet. The latter Adelaide is routinely attached to the comital family of Poitou, even though there is no primary evidence for such a connection (see Chapter 6). My own best guess (violating all my own warnings against using name-similarities to construct family trees)

is that the two Adelaides were descended ultimately from Louis the Blind, emperor and count of Vienne (d. c. 928), and his second wife, Adelaide (see Fig. 5.2). (This differs from Chaume's suggestion that Adelaide of Chalon was descended from Charles-Constantine, for the latter was the son of Louis the Blind by his first wife.) Such a connection would explain why Adalbero of Laon, in his *Carmen* for King Robert, said that the milk Robert's mother Adelaide fed her son was imperial milk: Adalbero would hence be referring to her imperial ancestry.⁷⁰

Such a connection must remain speculative, but it nonetheless explains a comment by Raoul Glaber that has been hard to reconcile with other sources: that Adelaide of Chalon's son Hugh, count of Chalon and bishop of Auxerre (999–1039), was a close relative of King Robert II's wife Constance.⁷¹ This comment used to be, as noted above, the basis for the (now discredited) assumption that Adelaide of Chalon was a sister of the count of Arles, Constance's father. Raoul Glaber, who noted that Hugh of Chalon was essentially the only Burgundian lord who supported the king in the wars that broke out after 1002, seems to have been trying to explain this loyalty, but he may still be right about a family connection. The counts of Arles are generally assumed to have been descended in some way from Louis the Blind, even though every modern scholar has created a slightly different connection.

There is one other hint in the primary sources which may explain the origins of the two Adelaides: references to "Ausonia." According to Helgaud in his *vita* of Robert II, the king's illustrious ancestry emerged from "Ausonia," which the editors generally equate with the Roman empire of antiquity.⁷² It may instead be a clue to his mother Adelaide's origins. One possibility is that "Ausonia" refers to the county of Auxois, north of Dijon (mentioned above); the counts of this region emerge into the documents rather abruptly at the beginning of the eleventh century.⁷³ Although this can be no more than a suggestion, it may be a profitable line to follow in a further search for the origins of the two Adelaides.

One can very quickly reach the realm of unprovable reconstruction, but one point does emerge clearly from discussions of the possible family of Adelaide of Chalon, and that is the danger of circular reasoning. If it is assumed that property and office were always inherited in the tenth century, then one can argue that someone of unknown origins must be descended from someone who held similar authority a few generations earlier, and then use this purported connection to establish political continuities.

If the tangled history of the counts of Autun in the ninth and tenth cen-

turies shows nothing else, it is the enormous fluidity of political authority in the period, when war, betrayal, and especially the decisions of the king could make and remove counts at any time. Certainly family connections were a vital part of the calculation and planning of those who held counties under the Carolingians or hoped to do so, but as long as the Carolingians exercised authority they tried to *avoid* making such connections a factor in the accession to political office. Such avoidance indeed underlines the importance of the noble family: for royal authority to function, kings had to reject the very inheritance of counties which modern scholars have assumed in creating family trees. Autun may have an even more complicated history before the time of Richard le Justicier than other contemporary counties, but for that reason it serves as a palpable warning against a too-ready conflation of family and politics.

Twelfth-Century Family Structures

THE INCREASING NUMBER of surviving documents for the twelfth and later centuries—there are probably more still in existence for the twelfth century than for all the years from the Merovingian era through the eleventh century put together—makes it possible for the first time to follow over the generations lineages less exalted than those of dukes and counts. These increasingly numerous documents also allow one to ask questions about family structure which would be difficult to answer with fewer primary sources.

In this chapter I focus especially on one example, the members and household of a Burgundian castellan family, the lords of Seignelay, located in the Auxerrois. This family's history, along with that of others of the region, will be used to address questions about the use of names, both given names and *cognomina*, to define family groupings; the extent to which noble families had—or had not—coalesced into patrilineal units by the twelfth century; attempts to regulate or restrict the inheritance and the pool of heirs, including questions about demography and family size; and the relationship between a family and the nearby churches.

The lords of Seignelay were a powerful family of the Auxerrois, related to Bernard of Clairvaux through his mother (Fig. 9.1). Of relatively recent pedigree—their family tree goes back no further than the eleventh century—they nevertheless dominated secular and ecclesiastical politics in the region by the late twelfth century.¹ When discussing their preeminent position in the twelfth century, however, it must be kept in mind that they had not always enjoyed such status; they seem to have been descended from an infamous father and son, named Bovo and Aswalo, who held what Raoul Glaber termed the “sacrilegious” castle of Seignelay in the early eleventh century.² In the years after 1100, however, a great many of the knights of the region did homage to them, and the family produced several cathedral officers during the twelfth century, climaxing when three of these became bishops in the late twelfth

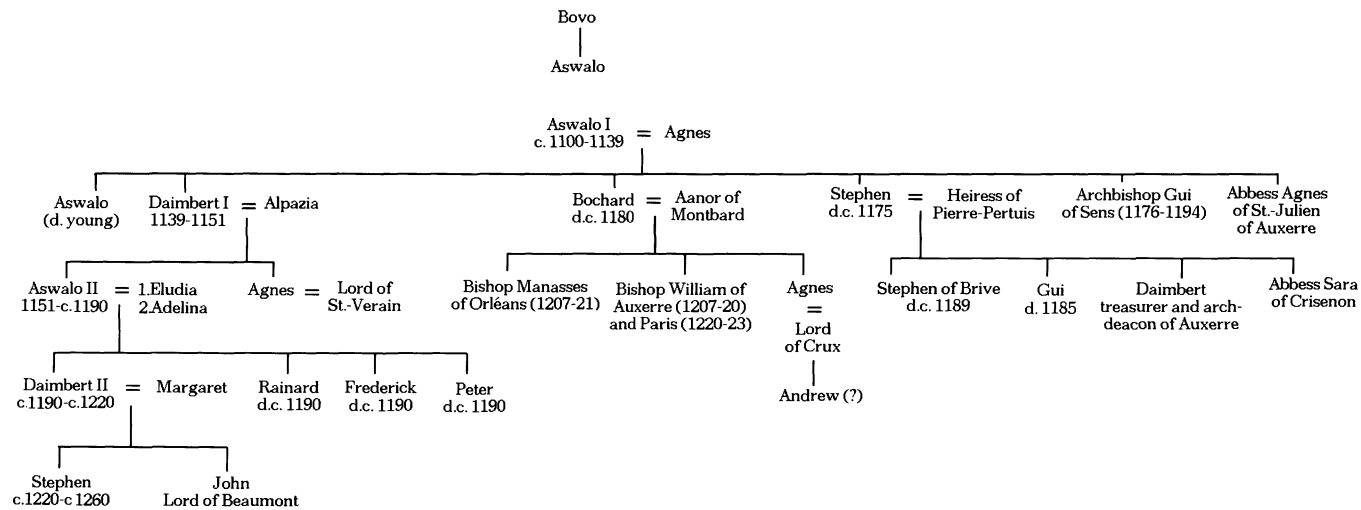


Figure 9.1. The family of the lords of Seignelay.

century and at the beginning of the thirteenth. Even such a well-documented kin-group, it should be noted, has some gaps, and the most common gaps are the origins of the women who married into the lords' family.

While these gaps are of course frustrating to the genealogist, they are also highly revelatory of the sort of information that family members did and did not consider worth recording. In their charters from the twelfth century, the lords of Seignelay regularly included certain relatives — either as witnesses or at least as people mentioned, perhaps to be commemorated by the local monks — but did not include others. Those with whom they acted and whose names they had recorded in their charters can, I would argue, be considered their real “family,” and it should be stressed that this group was relatively narrow. In the twelfth century, it consisted essentially of those descended in the male line from Lord Aswalo I of Seignelay (d. c. 1140). Other people might also appear in these charters, generally as witnesses, but the wording would make very clear the distinction between those who were and were not blood-relatives. The lords of Seignelay were cousins, related through women, of two other important castellan families of the region, the lords of Noyers and of Toucy; they might occasionally mention this connection, but they did not support these lords in their wars, or commemorate them in their charters.

Within a given generation, younger brothers were very much part of the family group. Aswalo I had three sons who grew to adulthood and remained in the world (a fourth entered the church), and the three, Daimbert I, Bochard, and Stephen, all regularly appear in each other's charters. Daimbert was the heir, and after he succeeded as lord of the castle his two younger brothers generally did no more than approve and confirm what he did. But they still regularly appeared in his charters until Stephen left home to marry the heiress of Pierre-Pertuis, after which time only Bochard appeared in their brother's charters.³ Indeed, Bochard was as necessary a witness as Daimbert's wife and son and appeared regularly with them.

The ecclesiastical members of the family of the lords of Seignelay, though they usually did not appear in their secular relatives' charters, also remembered their relatives and always included the fact that a man was their brother or cousin when mentioning a relative in their own charters. William, who became bishop of Auxerre in the early thirteenth century, showed an active awareness of his membership in a group of blood-relatives and was described as feeling great affection for all of them. His contemporary biographer, a member of the Auxerre cathedral chapter and perhaps another relative, described at length William's closeness to his “noble” father, his “saintly” mother, his learned uncle the archbishop, and his brother and fellow-bishop

with whom he shared his table and even bed when they were canons together. All members of this group of blood relations, including both secular and ecclesiastical members, were buried together at the nearby Cistercian monastery of Pontigny, as had been their ancestors and relatives starting with Aswalo I.⁴

Cognomina

One of the ways the descendants of Aswalo I of Seignelay identified themselves as a group was through the use of names, especially the *cognomen*. I have discussed in earlier chapters the use of given (or “first”) names to identify boys and girls with the group into which they were born; here I shall discuss especially the loconym, the “second” name or surname which identified someone with a particular place, so that someone who might once have been called simply *Bochardus* would now be called *Bochardus de Siliniaco*.

Cognomina, tags attached to someone’s given name, had been virtually unknown in the tenth century, but first began to appear in any numbers in the eleventh century, and were virtually universal among the aristocracy by the end of the twelfth century. Some of these *cognomina* were nicknames based on personal characteristics, such as *Crassus*, *Strabo*, *Bailedart*, or *Le Chat*, all found in the Auxerrois. But such nicknames, though fairly common among the ranks of knights, were unusual among castellans and more powerful lords. One of the few exceptions in high medieval Burgundy is provided by the family of the lords of Brancion and Uxelles, nearly all called *Grossus* (*Grossa* for the women) from the mid-eleventh to the mid-thirteenth century.⁵

More commonly, the *cognomen* a noble took was geographic in origin, identifying him or her with a specific castle. Scholars have long noted this identification and have argued that, from the time that such loconyms first appear, they were hereditary, designed to identify all members of the family with their relatives. But here scholars may have been too quick to assume that aristocratic loconyms were always hereditary and indicative of family consciousness. Indeed, studies of *cognomina* among twelfth-century urban families, less exalted socially than knights and nobles, have concluded that hereditary names and geographic names were mutually exclusive: that if a townsman’s *cognomen* was geographic in origin it cannot be considered hereditary, and vice versa.⁶ An examination of the relatives of the lords of Seignelay indicates that, indeed, most family members were designated as “of Seignelay” — but only as long as they lived there.

For example, among the sons of Lord Aswalo I of Seignelay, his son Stephen was designated as “of Seignelay” (*Stephanus de Siligniac*), but only until he married the heiress of Pierre-Pertuis in the mid-twelfth century. From then until his death, he was routinely referred to as “of Pierre-Pertuis” (*Stephanus de Petra Pertusa*).⁷ Here the *cognomen* clearly did not designate his family but instead his residence or the place where he had dominion. Interestingly, his own son, also named Stephen, was not called “of Pierre-Pertuis” until his father had died and he inherited the castle, even though that was probably where he was born and spent his early childhood. Until then, when he appeared in documents, including his father’s, it was with the designation “Stephen of Brive,” which also served to avoid confusion between father and son.⁸

While here members of the same lineage might appear in the documents with different *cognomina*, in other cases unrelated men might all be called “of Seignelay.” The household knights who served the lords of that castle would also be designated as *de Siliniaco* when they witnessed the lords’ charters.⁹ Such shared surnames confused nineteenth-century scholars, who tried unsuccessfully to fit everyone with the same *cognomen* into a single family tree, in spite of the evidence that the serving knights were of a vastly inferior social position.¹⁰

The lords of Seignelay themselves were called *dominus*, and they and their brothers were designated as *nobilis*; only in the second half of the twelfth century did they begin to be called knights, or *milites*. The knights who served them, in contrast, were never called *nobilis* but instead *miles* or even *miles casatus*, meaning household knight.¹¹ These serving knights would be designated as “of Seignelay” only as long as they actually lived and served in the castle. Once they had their own nearby houses, such as many acquired after decades of service, they would instead be designated by the names of those houses. One example is Salo of Seignelay, a knight whose father had held Bouilly in fief from the lords of Seignelay. He first appears in the documents as Salo “of Seignelay,” son of Garmund “of Bouilly,” a designation that changed only around 1140 when his father died and he himself inherited Bouilly. At that time he apparently left Seignelay, for although he still witnessed the charters of the lords of Seignelay, it was with the designation, “Salo of Bouilly.”¹²

While it might be argued that knights like these could have been descended from the eleventh-century lords of Seignelay, there is no evidence to support such a link. Even if such a link existed, it would have been purely biological, not mental or social, because neither the lords nor the knights themselves considered them to be part of the same family as the lords of the castle.

This may be seen, for example, in the charters that some of these knights themselves had drawn up to record their own pious donations to local religious houses. They generally asked the lord of Seignelay to confirm their gifts, but not as their *consanguineus*, simply as their *dominus*. When the knight Bernard of Seignelay made a gift to the abbey of Pontigny in 1126, with the consent of his wife and children, the witnesses included, clearly differentiated from each other, *Awallo de Siliniaco*, *dominus meus*, and *Gauterius, nepos meus*.¹³ A similar pattern has been noted in other parts of France, where in the region of Poitou, for example, a fairly sizable group of inhabitants of a certain castle might carry the same surname as the lord of the place, and also in Bavaria, where the servile knights, the *ministeriales*, were often designated by the same geographic names as their noble masters.¹⁴

Indeed, noble lineages sometimes shared a *cognomen* without necessarily considering themselves part of the same family. The village of Toucy, located like Seignelay in the Auxerrois, had two separate, unrelated noble lineages that both took the loconym *de Tociaco*. The second, perhaps to distinguish it from the first, was also often referred to as *de Narbonnia*.¹⁵ Both the counts and the viscounts of nearby Joigny styled themselves *de Joviniaco*. Similarly, the twelfth-century aristocrat Lambert *de Wattrelos* noted in his history of his family that both his grandfathers had also carried the *cognomen* of *de Wattrelos*. The blood-connection, however, cannot have been close, or their children would not have been able to marry; and indeed there are suggestions that Lambert's maternal ancestors were much more exalted than were the household knights on his father's side.¹⁶

Since the name of the castle of Seignelay was not adopted as a *cognomen* by all the relatives of the lords of Seignelay and was in fact used by some unrelated knights, and since the use of the designation "of Seignelay" might change when a man — noble or knight — changed his residence, it seems that the geographic *cognomen* used by members of the nobility more and more frequently after the end of the eleventh century was not a true patronym used as an indication of family ties.¹⁷ It designated a man's residence more than his family. It did however serve to distinguish men with the same first name at a time when the total number of different names in use had declined substantially from the number used in the eleventh century.¹⁸ Evidently the nobility were more like townsmen in their use of *cognomina* than has been thought.

While the *cognomen* did not necessarily designate membership in a group of blood relatives, there are indications that the first name could still do so in the twelfth century, as it had in earlier centuries. This was especially true in the case of the oldest son, the only son a man could be assured of

having at the time the boy was born. During the twelfth century, all lords of Seignelay named their oldest sons for their own fathers. If one examines the family tree one will see an alternation of the names Aswalo and Daimbert. Interestingly, the name Daimbert became a name for lords of Seignelay only due to the untimely death of Aswalo I's first son, named Aswalo.¹⁹ If the boy had not died young, allowing his younger brother Daimbert I to inherit, all twelfth-century lords of Seignelay might have carried the same name. The pattern changed only at the beginning of the thirteenth century when, after four generations of lords named Aswalo or Daimbert, the lord was instead named Stephen. This was still, however, a name found among his paternal relatives.

A similar pattern is found among other families of the region. All the twelfth-century counts of Auxerre were named William, and all the lords of Noyers were called Milo. At the same time, the lords of Merry were all either Herbert or Ascelin, the lords of Donzy were either Hervé or Geoffrey, and the lords of Toucy were either Itier or Narjod. This pattern of course was not confined to the Auxerrois, for examples could be multiplied from all over France. For example, the lords of Montpellier were always named William — occasionally a father would give *two* of his sons that name to ensure that at least one William survived — and the lords of Bourbon were all named Archembald from the late tenth to the thirteenth centuries, including periods when the lordship was inherited not by a man's son but by a nephew or even a daughter's son.²⁰

Although the expectation that a son be named for his grandfather or father would have been especially strong in the case of the heir to the castle, younger sons too might name their own sons for their fathers. When William IV of Auxerre and Nevers died childless in 1168, leaving the counties to his brother Gui, Gui named his own heir William after their father, thus continuing the identification of this lordship with the name William. Thus, both before and after the adoption of *cognomina*, it was primarily first names that identified members of a noble family with their parents, aunts and uncles, and ancestors, which points to a strong and continued awareness of the existence of this extended group through time.

Patrilineage and Primogeniture

So far I have been discussing the lords of Seignelay as a patrilineal group. Certainly men of their kin-group appear in the records far more frequently than

do the women, defining its borders by their actions and their inheritance. But, just as in earlier chapters I argued that the supposedly amorphous families of the ninth and tenth centuries may have been more patrilineally oriented than has often been assumed, so here I would like to suggest that no fully formed patrilineage emerged in the twelfth century leaving both women and younger sons marginalized.

Georges Duby, relying especially on the work of Karl Schmid, has been the most influential scholar to argue for such a triumph of patrilineage in high medieval France. For him, the appearance of geographic *cognomina* was a key indicator of a new sort of family consciousness in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in which the hereditary male line was emphasized for the first time.²¹ This model, however, at least in the rather simplistic form that emerges from Duby's pages, has recently begun to be challenged. Although the model of a transformation of family structure around the year 1000 originally came out of German scholarship, focusing especially on the supposedly less patrilineal early Middle Ages, recent studies of twelfth-century German families have suggested that their lack of a definitive patrilineage may have continued well past the tenth century.²² The question when German examples do not accord with the predominant (French) model is whether twelfth-century Germany was somehow backward, or whether the model itself is problematic.

The history of the lords of Seignelay in the twelfth century casts light on some of these issues. First of all, it should be stressed that generally patrilineal family structure need not mean that a lineage practiced strict primogeniture.²³ Although scholars have often assumed that patrilinear families and privileging of the oldest son to the exclusion of the younger necessarily went together,²⁴ brothers continued to appear together in important documents concerning family property even after the oldest had taken over their father's lordship. And younger sons' claims to some share of the property indeed seem to have *increased* rather than decreased between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Although the twelfth-century lords of Seignelay did not confer any property directly on their younger brothers, in the thirteenth century such an *apanage* system, beginning then of course also among the sons of the French kings, begins to appear in the Auxerrois. John, younger brother of Lord Stephen of Seignelay, was lord of Beaumont in his own right.²⁵

The lords of Seignelay were not alone in allowing rights and property to pass to younger sons. Even the twelfth-century dukes of Normandy, it may be noted, did not routinely make the oldest son the heir to all his parents' property. Throughout the century, the counts of Auxerre, Nevers, and Ton-

nerre divided these three counties among the heirs of each generation. Thus, although in high medieval France the oldest son was generally the heir, and much more attention was given in the twelfth century to finding him a wife than was accorded to his brothers, these brothers retained at least a potential and often a real hereditary right to family property.²⁶

As younger brothers were not excluded from the family affairs of the lords of Seignelay, in spite of the supposedly rigidly patrilineal structures of the time, it should also be stressed that women were not excluded either.²⁷ They certainly inherited substantial property, if at all, only in the absence of brothers, but this had been the normal pattern since at least the eighth century, so it was not something new in the High Middle Ages. Additionally, although women's legal position was weaker than men's during this period, to the extent that married women rarely made donations in their own names, wives were still the most common participants in their husbands' pious donations, more common than these men's own blood relatives.

Wives normally confirmed their husbands' pious gifts to monasteries, even though the donated property generally came from his family, not hers. For example, wives appear in close to two-thirds of the donation charters for twelfth-century Cistercian houses in Burgundy where anyone beside the donor is listed at all. This represents an *increase* in wives' involvement in pious donations compared to earlier periods. In the eighth through tenth centuries, wives had appeared in their husbands' donation charters scarcely more frequently than did anyone else; this pattern only began to change at the very end of the tenth century.²⁸

In the Champagne region, north of Burgundy, wives' legal rights indeed seem to have been strengthened rather than weakened during the High Middle Ages. As the research of Theodore Evergates especially has demonstrated, the courts of the region made explicit during the thirteenth century that wives could expect to be able to keep half of their husbands' property after these husbands died, and that they continued to have final say over the disposition of the dowry land they had brought into the marriage, even while their husbands were still alive.²⁹ These legal rulings suggest that, rather than becoming steadily less important in a supposedly more male-centered period, wives were able to maintain and even improve their rights and position.

Although sisters and daughters appear in donation charters less frequently than do wives, their regular appearance certainly suggests that they too were not altogether marginalized. For example, the two cousins named Agnes, daughters respectively of Daimbert I and Bochart of Seignelay, ap-

pear along with their brothers in charters drawn up for their male relatives.³⁰ Even after they were married, they still appeared in some charters, indicating the continued importance of such women in the family group. And the female relatives of the lords of Seignelay were not alone. As has been argued, for example, for the Chartrain in the same period, daughters were a crucial part of a family's web of property rights, and they appeared in over a third of the twelfth-century donation charters.³¹

It is also striking that when women came into important positions of power during the twelfth century, as in the examples of Mathilda, who inherited the English throne in 1135, or a number of French countesses who ruled during the twelfth century, they were supported by the local churchmen. Although it has been considered curious that supposedly misogynist clerics would support such women,³² in fact the legitimacy of their position, whether as regents or heiresses, was considered valid regardless of their sex. Thus it is important not to interpret the appearance of a clear line of male descent for many lordships in the High Middle Ages as indicative of any sort of rejection then of the rights and position of noble women.

When examined closely, therefore, the supposed patrilineal rigidity of a powerful castellan family, even one from the heartland of France, appears far less rigid than one might have assumed it would, based on models of the triumph of the agnatic principle in the High Middle Ages. Some scholars have noted that, in areas outside France, including Germany and Spain, cognates continued to be consulted and all children given some share in the inheritance throughout the twelfth century.³³ But this need not mean that these areas were socially backward. Rather, these scholars have identified a pattern that, in spite of hereditary castles and *cognomina*, continued to be found in France as well.

Constraints on the Family Group and Family Size

The consciousness of a group of blood relatives of itself as a continuing body, in whatever way they defined themselves, may be seen also in the tendency to impose constraints on the individual members of the group for the good of the whole. These included attempts to restrict the size of the group, especially the reluctance shown in allowing younger sons to marry, unless they could acquire substantial property through such unions.³⁴ This phenomenon is important both for the light it sheds on the question of family consciousness and also for its implications for modern attempts to use data on generation size in

noble families for a study of medieval demography. Some scholars have taken the often large number of children born to noble parents as an indication of rapid population growth in the twelfth century. However, detailed studies of particular families seem to demonstrate that only a few of the children of a populous generation had children of their own, suggesting that the large numbers of offspring in some noble families cannot be taken as indicative of the overall growth of the noble population.

Indeed, one cannot even begin to answer some of the questions that the modern scholar of social history would like to ask, such as how many children were produced by the average noble family. It has long been clear from other indices—including seigneurial inventories, price trends, growth of towns, progress of land clearance, colonization and migration, and even the increase in the number of public and ecclesiastical buildings—that Europe's population was growing between the tenth and thirteenth centuries.³⁵ Historians have hoped that it would be possible to determine more precisely how fast this growth took place, if only it were possible to give a figure for family size.

Attempts to give such a figure have of course been made.³⁶ But in an era without censuses, or even the polyptyques of earlier centuries or the listings of hearth taxes of later periods, one's only source of information on family composition is normally donation charters preserved at monasteries. Thus it is necessary to look carefully at how such charters were composed. And of course one must keep in mind that the aristocracy, the sector of society most likely to appear in such charters, cannot be considered a random sample of the population, so that even if one obtained population figures from their charters it would be very difficult to extrapolate to the population as a whole. Perhaps one might assume that the wealthier, better-nourished aristocracy would have a higher rate of population growth due to lower rate of mortality. On the other hand, one might assume that the aristocracy's growth rate was lower than that of the rest of the population, as is the case in modern industrialized society, because of a conscious desire to limit the number of offspring rather than having to divide the patrimony among a great number of children. In short, one cannot extrapolate from the wealthy families mentioned in the documents to the population as a whole.

And it is often impossible, even for a specific noble couple with multiple surviving offspring, to be positive how many children they had. Children commonly appeared in their parents' charters, but one can make no firm conclusions about family size from these charters, because they almost never list all of a couple's offspring. First of all, the documents do not of course

include children not yet born. Thus, if a couple were inscribed in the documents when they were just starting their family, they might be indicated as having only one or two children when they might eventually go on to have eight. Secondly, the documents will not list as witnessing or giving consent to their parents' gifts those children who did neither. As there were no firm laws as to which children should witness a parent's donation, a man might well appear in different charters with a different selection of offspring. For example, Viscount Isnard of Joigny was accompanied by three sons in a charter from 1161, five sons in a charter from 1165, but only one son in another charter also from 1165. In addition, children were generally not considered capable of approving a donation until they had reached the age of majority (there was no precise age required, but it was around twelve or fourteen). Before then, they might at most be referred to by a phrase such as, "I do not yet have other children who have reached the age of reason" (*etas loquendi*).³⁷

Of the three sons of Count William III of Nevers (d. 1161), the eldest first appeared in a charter with his father in 1153, and was knighted in 1159, suggesting that he must have been born a decade or more before his first mention in the records. The second son was mentioned for the first time in 1156, and the third only in 1170, when he first appeared in his older brother's charter nearly ten years after their father had died. Count Peter of Nevers did mention an underage daughter, his heiress, in an 1194 charter, but he indicated that she was not yet old enough to take an oath to observe the agreement that the charter recorded: "I grant that my daughter Mathilda, when she reaches the age of twelve, shall swear to observe this agreement, as shall any husband of hers before she marries him."³⁸ One can therefore assume that for many charters in which a man or a couple appear without children they did indeed have offspring, but not offspring considered competent to give consent to a transaction.

A charter thus gives a snapshot of a moment in the life of a family. Historical demographers argue that if, on the average, couples appear in a household with 1.5 children, then the birth rate will be about three children per couple, by the time that one counts those children not yet born or who have already left home.³⁹ Even well-documented twelfth-century lineages do not list in every document all the children that can be demonstrated to have been born to a couple.⁴⁰ Some children, even if they had reached the "age of reason," would not appear in their parents' documents because they had already left home or at least were temporarily absent, as on Crusade.

Girls especially were underrepresented in their parents' charters, but one should not simply infer from this underrepresentation that females were barred from legal transactions or that their consent was not wanted for prop-

erty transfers. Rather, one needs to note the relatively short time between when girls reached the "age of reason" and when they married, taking their dowries with them as, in essence, an advance on their inheritance, and thus having relatively little further claim on family property. There are certainly cases in which married daughters returned to confirm the donations of their birth families,⁴¹ but the combination of a move away from home and a reduced claim to family property restricted such appearances. Unless their parents happened to issue a charter in the five or six years between when a girl became mature and when she left home, she might go forever unmentioned. Boys who, like the above-mentioned younger sons of the count of Nevers, often continued to live at home even when adults, would therefore be more likely to appear in their parents' charters than were their sisters.

Additionally, even if one were able to determine the number of children born to each couple, this would not mean that one would be able to determine the overall population growth, because not all children would marry and have children of their own—indeed, only a minority might do so. The example of the lords of Seignelay casts light on this issue. These lords were slow to allow younger sons to marry. No explicit reason is given for this practice, but it may well have been due to conscious efforts to avoid division of the patrimony, over which younger sons had some control, as witness their presence confirming gifts by an older brother of family property to the church. The results of this practice are in any event clear: the number of living blood relatives of the lords of Seignelay scarcely increased over the course of the twelfth century. Although Aswalo I had five sons (four of whom reached their majority), he had only two great-great-grandsons in the male line, only one of whom had any children of his own.

The oldest son of Aswalo I who grew to adulthood, Daimbert, married young, but of the other three, Gui entered the church, Stephen married the heiress of Pierre-Pertuis late in life, and Bochart did not marry until after Daimbert died, leaving Aswalo II, his only son, an infant. Bochart was acting lord of Seignelay as late as 1175, a good generation after his brother's death,⁴² and would doubtless have continued the line of lords of Seignelay himself had the boy failed to thrive. In the next generation, there were six grandsons of Aswalo I who grew to maturity: three entered the church, two (the sons of Stephen of Pierre-Pertuis) died while still quite young,⁴³ and only one, Aswalo II, had any children. Of his children, the only four great-grandsons of Aswalo I in the male line, three died on Crusade with their cousin before they could marry, and only one, Daimbert II, had children of his own. And only Stephen, the elder of his two sons, had children of *his* own.

The same pattern has been noted by other scholars who have studied

individual twelfth-century families in detail, including families where the purpose of restricting the marriage of younger sons was explicitly to avoid dividing the patrimony among too many heirs. In both the Mâconnais and the region of Poitou, it was common to allow only the eldest or two oldest sons to marry, in order to avoid a proliferating family and an attendant division of the patrimony. Some families adopted almost draconian measures to keep the number of heirs to the patrimony to a minimum. The same pattern persisted into the thirteenth century. Thomas, count of Savoy at the beginning of the thirteenth century, intended five of his seven sons for the church. Even though most of these five left the church upon their father's death, Thomas had only two grandsons in the male line, only one of whom had children of his own.⁴⁴

Thus, although a single generation might produce a large number of children, the overall size of a group of relatives did not increase greatly from generation to generation in the twelfth century. In fact, the size of the group was restricted to the point where there was sometimes a danger of a line dying out, due to a lack of heirs. Such extinctions have been found in other parts of France,⁴⁵ and could certainly have happened to the lords of Seignelay if Daimbert II had, like his brothers and cousins, died childless on Crusade. In general, however, groups of blood relatives in the twelfth century were able to maintain a balance between the dangers of too many and too few heirs. Although the Capetian kings of France are unusual in having produced a male heir in every generation from Robert the Strong in the mid-ninth century to the sons of Philip the Fair in the early fourteenth, a number of less prominent families were able to continue for a century or two, insuring male heirs in each generation without completely dispersing their resources among a multitude of children and grandchildren.

The Family and the Church

One of the ways the lords of Seignelay restricted any increase in the number of their blood relatives was, as already suggested, by sending children into the church, local convents for the girls and cathedral chapters for the boys. Such a pattern of domination of a cathedral chapter by powerful regional families has often been noted, including that when members of these families entered the chapter, it was usually to take up the highest offices.⁴⁶ The scholarly conclusion has often been that cathedral chapters acted as the "accomplices" of local noble families, and that the chapters served the needs of a powerful and

worldly aristocracy, providing a place where family members could continue to engage in warfare and temporal administration, even if no longer heirs to the patrimony.⁴⁷

In addition, it has even been suggested that children were put into the church primarily as a simple and inexpensive way to reduce the number of potential heirs to the patrimony. Here again it must be noted that some couples, like Bochart of Seignelay and his wife Aanor, ended up sending all of their children into the church, and that daughters, more likely than their brothers to be considered "extra," were much more likely to become nuns as adults than as young girls.⁴⁸ Rather than concluding that the principal motivation in sending sons into the cathedral chapter was to provide a comfortable livelihood for them, at little expense to the family, it is necessary to discover the reasons why individual family members were sent into the church and to compare a family's dealings with religious corporations that included their relatives and their dealings with ones that did not.

Among the ecclesiastical relatives of the lords of Seignelay were an archbishop, two bishops, two archdeacons of the Auxerre cathedral chapter, and two abbesses. In fact, no relative of the lord of Seignelay, male or female, is known to have entered the church without gaining an important ecclesiastical office. The point that emerges is that these ecclesiastics, far from being comfortably sinecured but otherwise discarded individuals, had the broadest-ranging influence of any members of the family. All the males who entered the church entered the cathedral chapter of either Sens or Auxerre (the two cities are some fifty kilometers apart; Seignelay lies between them, closer to Auxerre). None of the family is known to have become a monk. Indeed, no Burgundian families which were powerful in the local cathedral chapter produced monks at the same time.⁴⁹ In choosing the cathedral chapters, relatives of the lords of Seignelay were choosing the only religious corporation in either diocese that did not practice the reformed life of personal poverty and collective property after the first decades of the twelfth century. Indeed, the membership of these cathedral chapters was typically dominated by the local nobility, and there were certain prebends which were regularly passed from uncle to nephew.⁵⁰

In entering the cathedral chapter, at least from the time of Archbishop Gui onward, the younger members of the family could generally count on the influence of older relatives already in the church to help them advance. It is not known whether Gui had any relatives in the cathedral when he became provost of Auxerre, the position from which he was elected archbishop of Sens. It is tempting to see Gui's mother Agnes as a relative of Archbishop

Daimbert of Sens, because she named her second son Daimbert, but name similarities are the only evidence for such a link, and one would have to postulate a generation of cathedral canons between Archbishop Daimbert, who died in 1122, and Archbishop Gui, who cannot have been born much before that date.

At any rate, after becoming archbishop, Gui was personally responsible for making his three nephews, Manasses, William, and Daimbert, dignitaries of the Sens cathedral chapter. From these positions Manasses and William were, after their uncle's death, promoted to higher offices in the Auxerre chapter and eventually to episcopal sees: William first to Auxerre and then to Paris, and Manasses to Orléans. William, as bishop of Auxerre, made his *consanguineus* Andrew the archdeacon there.⁵¹ (Andrew was most likely the son of William's sister Agnes.) It should be noted that the only visible influence on the promotion of family members within the church came from relatives who were already ecclesiastics, not from secular members of the family. After the reforms of the late eleventh century, it was no longer possible for secular lords blatantly to impose their relatives on unwilling cathedral chapters, and indeed it was not necessary.⁵²

Lest a discussion of family influence imply that making one's son a cathedral canon was little different from making him a knight, it is necessary to point out that it takes a certain belief in the value of the religious life for a couple to send any of their children into the church at all. This element of powerful piety can be seen especially in Bochart of Seignelay. He had married Aanor of Montbard, a cousin of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, a highly devout woman whom Bishop William's biographer considered practically a saint, and who may well have assisted in the ultimate decision to send her sons into the church. All of Aanor's and Bochart's sons but Manasses and William had died in infancy. Bochart originally intended them for knight-hood, according to William's biographer, but he was persuaded by his brother Gui, the archbishop, that the "better course" would be to send them *both* into the church.⁵³ Bochart, in sending his only surviving sons into an ecclesiastical life rather than having them carry on his lineage or follow the knightly life that he had led, was certainly not using the church merely as a livelihood for excess sons.

Nor did the fact that Manasses and William gained their initial promotions due to the influence of their uncle mean that personal merit was not necessary. Rather, long after Gui's death, Manasses was elected bishop of Orléans because of his personal reputation as a pious man and excellent administrator, and William was elected to the see of Auxerre for the same rea-

sons after having refused to accept election to Sens and Nevers because he felt himself unworthy. That this represents more than the traditional protestation is evidenced by the fact that he only reluctantly agreed to become bishop of Auxerre in 1207 at the insistence of the current archbishop, to whom he was unrelated. The lords of Seignelay had no relatives in the chapters of Orléans or Nevers and certainly had no influence on the translation of William from Auxerre to Paris in 1220 on the express command of Pope Honorius III, over the protests of both William and the Paris chapter.⁵⁴ A man could be brought a certain distance with the support of his family, but after that he was an individual, making progress due only to his own abilities. There may well have been a number of twelfth-century churchmen whose personal lives were unworthy, but it would be wrong to assume that this was the case for all younger sons sent into the church; it was certainly not the case for the ecclesiastical relatives of the lords of Seignelay.

In addition, the relationship of the lords of Seignelay and their kin with local religious houses involved far more than establishing their brothers and sons as ecclesiastics. They were also generous benefactors of religious houses with which they had no such connections. While their sons entered the unreformed cathedral chapter, where the canons continued to follow the Rule of Aix, the lords of Seignelay made the bulk of their pious gifts to the new reformed houses of the region. Their generosity was felt by Molesme at the beginning of the twelfth century, and, a generation later, by the Premonstratensian abbey of St.-Marien and the Cistercian abbey of Pontigny—the latter two houses were located within a few kilometers of Seignelay. The lords of Seignelay are not known to have had any relatives in either of these abbeys. As well as making gifts of their own, they also frequently confirmed gifts to these same houses made by knights who held their property from them in fief.⁵⁵

Here it should also be clear that, even if medieval parents' disinclination to list all their possible children in their charters makes it impossible to use them to do statistical demography, the ways that kin groupings were recorded and commemorated in these charters is revelatory of the way that the donors conceptualized their families. Well-to-do donors rarely appeared in their charters alone. Rather they appeared accompanied by relatives: spouses, brothers and sisters, and children.

Some of these relatives were included because they had a potential claim to the property, and the monks may have preferred to receive their confirmation before rather than after they raised a claim. However, joint appearance in a donation charter had a strong spiritual and social as well as economic dimension, so the listing of someone as giving consent to a donation cannot

be seen simply as an indication of property rights.⁵⁶ More distant relatives might also appear, either as co-donors or at least by giving their consent, or they might be referred to as part of the group for which the donors hoped the recipient monks would pray. The variety of people listed in charters even from the same monastery at the same time indicates that there was certainly no “rule” as to which relatives needed to be listed, and individual circumstances may have influenced the appearance of family members in a charter more than some over-arching abstract laws about property ownership,⁵⁷ but it is still possible to draw some conclusions about family structure.

The lords of Seignelay were not equally beneficent to all local religious houses. Their relations with the Cluniac house of St.-Germain were sometimes even hostile. The abbey owned land that abutted on some of the family’s land, a situation which gave rise to repeated quarrels throughout the century.⁵⁸ Indeed, these quarrels dated back to the early eleventh century — Raoul Glaber had been discussing St.-Germain’s enemies when he spoke of the “most sacrilegious” castle of Seignelay — and the quarrels were still continuing at the end of the thirteenth century.

Although the lords of Seignelay had no relatives in St.-Germain, the presence of family ties by itself did not always prevent quarrels. In another dispute over boundaries, Stephen quarreled with William “of Toucy,” bishop of Auxerre and his own cousin. Although the exact degree of their relationship is not clear, they were certainly part of the same family group as Bishop William’s biographer saw it, for he said they were joined by *proxima sanguinis linea*. The quarrel was over the line where their property met; the bishop forced Stephen to give up the property he claimed, putting “justice before propinquity” in the words of his biographer.⁵⁹ When the distinction between family and nonfamily was opposed to the distinction between secular and ecclesiastic, the family ties did not always predominate.

But the fact that family ties were so frequently mentioned indicates that there was no rigid distinction between secular and ecclesiastical spheres. This is seen again in the fact that, during the twelfth century, the lords of Seignelay held their castle in fief from the abbey of St.-Remi of Sens. Aswalo II declared in a charter of 1185 that he had done homage to the abbot for his castle and lands. After 1220, Lord Stephen and his brother John became liege men of the count of Champagne for Seignelay, but before then the castle was always listed among the abbey’s possessions when these were confirmed by pope or archbishop.⁶⁰

This is not an isolated situation. The count of Auxerre did homage to the bishop of Auxerre for all his lands in the town of Auxerre itself and for

his castles in the region during the twelfth century. The viscount of Sens, like the lord of Seignelay, held his castle and lands in fief from St.-Remi of Sens. Indeed, these viscounts may have been related to the lords of Seignelay. A Daimbert was viscount in the middle of the eleventh century and had as his brother Mainard, archbishop of Sens (1050–1062), who would have held his office at the time that the future Archbishop Daimbert of Sens (1098–1122) entered the church. But the hypothesis that because both the lords of Seignelay and the viscounts of Sens held their lands in fief from the same abbey they must have been related in the male line obviates the alternative suggestion, that they were related in the female line, and that the name Daimbert, which entered the lineage of the lords of Seignelay only in the twelfth century, is an indicator of the origins of Agnes, wife of Aswalo I. “Indices” of name-similarity and fief-similarity do not go far enough to establish links of blood.

Ecclesiastical and secular society were thus not separate entities for the lords of Seignelay. Their relatives entered the church without wholly losing their identity as members in a clearly defined group of relatives; they gave their sons and their property to local churches; and they held the family castle itself in fief from a church.

A complex and fluid concept of the family for the lords of Seignelay emerges from the family’s documents. The *consanguinei*, those related through the male line who traced their descent from Aswalo I, were defined as a group by the boundaries separating them from other groups. These blood relatives witnessed each others’ charters, supported each other in quarrels against other groups of relatives or religious corporations, and were buried together at Pontigny. The group existed through time, since it included ancestors from whom the *consanguinei* were descended. The emphasis on the male line did not mean an exclusion of all but the oldest son from consideration, however, for brothers, nephews, and cousins were very much part of the group, and women, whether wives or sisters, also played an important role in family affairs.

No patronym defined this group, and none was needed, for the men of each generation were conscious of who their brothers were and who were the sons of their father’s brothers. However, there were first names used from generation to generation to identify the oldest son, the lord of Seignelay, with his ancestors who had also been lords of Seignelay. These are the names Aswalo and Daimbert, the same names carried by each heir’s male predecessors.

This group of blood relatives could not expand beyond the resources of its property and still support itself. Thus, there was great reluctance to allow

younger sons to marry unless they could find an heiress, as did Stephen of Pierre-Pertuis. Instead, they stayed at home in their brother's castle, went to the Holy Land, or entered the church. As a result, there was not a significant increase over the generations in the size of this group of relatives.

Far from being merely put out of the way in convenient sinecures, the sons who entered the church could count on the support of their relatives already in the church in gaining ecclesiastical promotion, often to positions of power and importance higher than their secular kin, and they would in turn help their own nephews to advance. Family membership was based on blood, not status, and was the same whether a man became a knight or a cathedral canon. But a churchman's close ties with his knightly relatives need not mean that he himself lived a knightly life; the three bishops, especially William, led lives of notable piety, displaying excellent administrative abilities, while at the same time never forgetting their relatives.

The example of the lords of Seignelay indicates the importance of the family in the social and ecclesiastical milieu of twelfth-century life. Though there was no concept of a "family" equivalent to the modern sense of the term, there was definitely a concept of a group of *consanguinei*, existing through time, who fought together, made pious gifts together, assisted one another, whether in secular or ecclesiastical life, and were buried together. The absence of a convenient patronym may make it difficult for a modern scholar to identify the membership of such a group without close study. But the apparent strength and importance of each individual's identification with his *consanguinei* and the often considerable influence this group had on his life and actions indicates the necessity of a better understanding and delineation of these groups in twelfth-century society.

Conclusions: Family Structure and the Transformations of the Year 1000

AS THE YEAR 2000 APPROACHED, with its vague but ominous threat (or promise) of transformations, ranging from the most mundane computer glitches to the mystical birth of a spiritual New Age, scholars looked with new interest at the year 1000.¹ The modern West, with its emphasis on individualism and self-fulfillment, is a different world from that of our ancestors a millennium ago, where individuals, both in their own eyes and in the eyes of their contemporaries, were identified with and by their families, those related to them by blood. Yet medievalists know better than anyone how much these people were our ancestors: not just of course our biological ancestors, although the same blood of which they were so acutely aware flows unrecognized today in the veins of anyone of western European descent, but also our institutional ancestors, the first creators of the structures we now consider modern.

It is thus not surprising that while waiting for the transformations of the year 2000 scholars should have experienced a revitalized interest in the question of how much the eleventh century represented a sharp break with the tenth. Writers of the early decades of the eleventh century themselves considered their age a new one, a period of opportunities and a breaking away from the old-fashioned ways of their predecessors. The *locus classicus* is the observation by Raoul Glaber that in the 1030s, after the millennium of the Crucifixion, France was covered with a “white mantle” of new churches.²

At the end of the twentieth century historians of medieval France returned to a model close to fifty years old (which indeed had never gone out of style in the intervening decades). This was a model of political upheavals at the beginning of the eleventh century, which led to the weakening of the power of the counts, the final breakdown of Carolingian governmental and judicial institutions, the rise of independent castellans, and the beginning of

a “feudal” age. This idea was originally proposed by Georges Duby as part of his study of the Mâconnais in southern Burgundy, and was still being applied relatively uncritically, over forty years later, to other parts of France, even areas as far removed geographically and culturally from Burgundy as Brittany.³ Duby of course was influenced by the work of Marc Bloch and his presentation in his *Feudal Society* of “two feudal ages,” but scholars who no longer referred to Bloch’s scholarship directly still continued to use his ideas as mediated by Duby’s work.⁴

Part of the reason Duby’s version dominated the second half of the twentieth century, far outstripping Bloch’s in acceptance and citations even though Bloch’s most significant work was only some dozen years older, was that Bloch was an institutional historian, whereas Duby was at the forefront of the new interest in society and the family. Thus, although his theory of a weakening of comital power was certainly expanded by his and other scholars’ discussions of other institutional changes of the late tenth and eleventh centuries, including the first appearance of castles, the rise of the knights, the creation of “banal” lordship, and especially the spread of the Peace of God,⁵ its greatest legacy was perhaps in the realm of the history of the family.

Again, Duby’s role was crucial in postulating a change in noble family structure around the year 1000, from amorphous clans to clearly delineated patrilineages.⁶ Here, because Duby was inspired by German scholarship, especially that of Karl Schmid, his formulations had an apparently international applicability and gained immediate and widespread acceptance. Even though a vague consensus has been growing in the last few years that the High Middle Ages was somewhat less patrilineal than Duby suggested, with women continuing to play an important role and primogeniture far from universal,⁷ it is still often assumed that there were no true lineages before the year 1000, until noble families were “transformed” in the eleventh century.

In the fifty years or so since Duby postulated a weakening of counts’ power after the turn of the first millennium, and the sixty years since Bloch proposed two distinct “feudal” ages, the debates over the extent to which the social and institutional changes of the eleventh century were radical have tended to focus at different times on different aspects of the model. Castles, as the new permanent residences of the powerful, meant to be used in times of peace as in times of war, have long ceased to be controversial. The archeological record is clear that castles appeared for the first time in all parts of France within a single generation, on either side of the year 1000;⁸ the debate has not been over their novelty but rather over the extent to which they signaled an exercise of power independent of the counts. Because it is evident

that, at least in some areas, the counts controlled the construction of castles in the eleventh century just as they had controlled other military activities in the tenth,⁹ the spread of castles has recently come to be seen as transformative, but not necessarily symptomatic of institutional breakdown. After a certain amount of debate, the knights who appeared along with the castles have recently been accepted as a new group, of different background and status than the nobility, although they eventually merged with them—even Duby adopted this view toward the end of his career,¹⁰ after initially maintaining that the eleventh-century knights were only nobles in a new guise.

The debates most recently have focused on the power and even violence exercised by castellans and knights over the French peasantry, generally taken as a “feudal” transformation. The argument in its most extreme version has been that the tenth-century peasantry had just emerged from slavery at the end of the tenth century, only to be subjected to new and feudal impositions in the eleventh century.¹¹ The extent to which any of this can truly be labeled “feudal” has been strangely little debated, probably because the arguments of those who reject the term, as both highly misleading and an inaccurate extrapolation from the (relatively minor) importance of fiefs in eleventh-century France, have been so overwhelming,¹² while those who continue to use the term feel they have no other viable term to substitute and thus avoid direct discussion of its appropriateness. Instead, the most lively debates have been over whether violence against peasants was greater in the eleventh century than it had been in the tenth, and whether these peasants were forced into new and debilitating forms of servitude by this violence.¹³ These questions have been answered in the negative most vociferously—and convincingly—by Dominique Barthélemy, who, however, doubtless due to a will to see nothing but a gradual change from the tenth century to the twelfth in *any* social sphere, has also been virtually the only scholar to cling to the idea that knights, far from representing a new group, were always identical with nobles.¹⁴

It is time for the question of transformations of noble family structure to take its place in the forefront of discussions of the “mutations” of the year 1000. For if the sudden appearance of “feudal” social structures is being convincingly challenged, then the sudden appearance of patrilineal family structures needs to be challenged just as thoroughly.

As it stands now, there is a vague but unexamined sense that noble families were highly unstructured before the eleventh century, then became rigidly patrilineal in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, only to become once again more fluid and more accepting of the rights of younger sons in the thirteenth

century. A model postulating this rather improbable series of about-faces has been allowed to flourish in part because those who have studied the families of the Carolingian era rarely study those of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and vice versa, while hardly anyone has carried a study of noble families into the thirteenth century.¹⁵ Thus scholars working on the Carolingian era have contrasted the complex family strategies they have found with a simplistic model of later straight-line, patrilineal descent and concluded that their own era of study must have been quite different, while those working on the High Middle Ages, knowing how unlike the Carolingian era their era was in the realms of the economy and intellectual inquiry, have concluded that noble family structure must also have been radically transformed. Neither group has noticed that the active female regents and inheriting younger sons of the thirteenth century look in many ways more like the supposed *Sippe* organization of families in the Carolingian era than like the patrilineal noble families purported to be typical of the intervening centuries.

Hence I would like to propose, rather than a changeable sort of noble family consciousness that underwent marked transformations from the tenth to the eleventh centuries, a relatively conservative form of family structure that was continuously open to new individuals and new lineages but incorporated these into its preexisting structures. As I have argued in the preceding chapters, the well-documented families that dominated Europe in the Carolingian era, including the imperial family itself and the dukes of Aquitaine and Septimania, were organized patrilineally from the ninth century onward, indeed from the time that it is possible to trace them in the records. As the great counts of Charlemagne's era were joined in the ranks of the French nobility by viscounts in the tenth century and by castellans in the eleventh century — and eventually by knights in the twelfth century — nobles in general continued to identify themselves with their male predecessors and hoped their power and wealth would pass to their male descendants. The complexity and dynamism of family structure is indicated by the way that new lineages, determined to identify themselves by male-line inheritance, still became embedded *through their marriages* into the web of alliance and blood-relationship that tied the Carolingian aristocracy together.

Outside the greatest royal lineages, the dynasties established in the ninth and tenth centuries were relatively short, stretching back two or three generations at most, but this should not be surprising given the fluid nature of power and authority in the period, including the great variation in the geographical region in which a man and his sons might exercise that power. When someone could rise to power — and then descend — as rapidly as did the Bivinid branch of the Bosonids in the ninth and tenth centuries, then it was difficult to at-

tach family consciousness to anything as concrete as the castles around which French noble families organized themselves in the High Middle Ages, and hence difficult to think of a dynasty as having existed for many generations.

But this did not keep the ambitious from following strategies intended to establish such long-lasting dynasties in the Carolingian era. They might seek to obtain their initial power from a variety of sources, including the already established kings, whom they served and whose daughters they sought to marry. But they were chiefly interested in transmitting *both* their wives' exalted blood *and* their own hard-won authority to their sons. In the absence of such sons, neither they nor any of their contemporaries expected this authority to pass to other, more distant relatives. Their plans for their male descendants, and even the names they gave their daughters—to identify these girls firmly with their fathers' relatives, even when their mothers' relatives were more powerful—show a consciousness of “family” deliberately centered on the male line. Scholars who have taken as a sign of amorphous family structure such men's willingness to obtain their authority from wherever they could have confused their strategies for consolidating their present position with their hopes for the future—and their hopes for the future were strictly male.

Abrupt rises and falls were less precipitous among the nobility in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which, along with the continuing influence of women, helps explain the lords' greater willingness to name both their daughters and their sons for people in their wives' or their own maternal ancestry. No longer did a patrilineage have to cling to existence by its fingernails. In a period of important institutional changes, especially the reform movement among the aristocracy's monastic neighbors and the new establishment of fiefs as a form of extra-familial organization, both long established and newly emerged lineages were able to create continuities of rule within an area over the decades.

Yet counties and castellanies continued to be inherited in a less than tidy way in every generation, as younger sons, sisters' sons, and daughters' sons were always at least potential heirs. The continuity of the county or castellany such heirs took up may mask the frequency in the High Middle Ages of such dynastic byways,¹⁶ even as the tendency of the next generation to give their own children names to identify them with the previous holders of that office indicates a constant attempt to recreate a patrilineal dynasty. The noble families of the High Middle Ages fit a model of strict primogeniture, exclusion of younger sons, and a marginalization of women scarcely better than did the families of two centuries earlier.

But if actual noble family structures changed only slowly from the ninth

through the twelfth century, then an individual's own consciousness of "family" could change quite radically with time and circumstance. To the modern historian, a noble "family" may look like a concrete entity, with set boundaries, traditional names, and family lands. To the men and women of the Carolingian and Capetian eras, in contrast, the "family" to which they belonged constantly evolved, as people were born, died, married in, and took up or lost positions of leadership. Even at the same time, the boundaries of the family were different if one were offering prayers or if one were preparing for war. And children and parents especially might differ in deciding whether the same individual was or was not a true member of the family, as witness the migration of women's names, clear indicators of family identity, between what an outsider might consider quite distinct family units.

Families, then, were not unproblematic groupings, but something that had to be continually constructed and reconstructed, in each generation and by each individual. And there were no convenient standards to which family members could refer, for all definitions of "family" were shot through with ambiguity: males mattered most in the dynasty, and yet at the same time brothers, uncles and nephews, even fathers and sons were at least potentially each others' enemies. Women did not carry anything like the same dynastic weight, yet wives and sisters were a crucial element of all families: as tools for tying the male family heads to the more powerful, or as active agents for taming and restraining ambitious and upwardly mobile young men. At least in the tenth century, nobles took seriously the church's prohibitions on incest, which made consciousness of the female line even more important. And with considerable frequency wives, who supposedly were not even a real part of their husbands' families, outlived these husbands by some years or even decades and functioned as the true heads of their *familiae*.

Constructing noble families can be for the modern genealogist both an entertaining intellectual pursuit and a way of clarifying the ways power was obtained and exercised in the Middle Ages. But the modern scholar can never overlook the inherent difficulty of defining the "family" to which one now may assign an individual. The ultimate reason family membership is now so difficult to determine for some medieval families is not that they did not place much significance on such membership. On the contrary, the very centrality of family membership to a medieval noble's identity meant that the significance attached to one's varied biological or blood ties always had to be modified, weakened or strengthened: by ties of enmity or alliance, shared or divergent purpose, as individuals constantly constructed and reconstructed that all-important entity that constantly surrounded them, the family.

Appendix A: The Problem of the Three Bernards and the Dukes of Aquitaine

THE DISCUSSION OF THE DUKES of Aquitaine in the second half of the ninth century, as well as of the dukes of Gothia and Toulouse and the counts of Auvergne and Autun (see Chapters 4 and 8), has always been confused by the difficulty of sorting out the men named Bernard, who all lived at the same time and who, among them, are said to have controlled all these offices. The sources are confusing enough; the *Annales Bertiniani* say that there were three men named Bernard, each a marquis, alive and powerful in 868 and 869, without really distinguishing them to the satisfaction of modern scholars. But the issue has become almost hopelessly bogged down by the quarrels of scholars with each other, each constructing an even more elaborate series of identifications and family trees. With some trepidation I now enter this morass (which, after exhausting a generation of scholars, has lain fairly quietly for some forty years). The only way to try to make sense out of the multiple Bernards is to start not with the conclusions of other scholars but with the sources, which at least have the virtue of brevity.

The starting point is Hincmar of Reims, the author of the *Annales Bertiniani*, from which almost all the information on the various Bernards comes. I begin with the assumption that Hincmar was clear in his own mind what he was talking about, even if he did not always convey it clearly to his readers. Thus, since Hincmar stresses the existence of *three* Bernards, I would conclude that his various references to men named Bernard all refer to one of the three, even though there were certainly some other powerful men named Bernard alive at this time in western Europe, who are not mentioned in the *Annales Bertiniani*. In 868, Hincmar said, there were three Marquis Bernards, one of Toulouse and one of Gothia; he did not say which area the third controlled. In the entry for 872 he said that, of two Marquis Bernards who acted together in that year—and whom he distinguished from Bernard of Toulouse—one was given authority over Aquitaine. This should make it clear that

the three Bernards of 868/9 were those known to modern scholars as the lords of Gothia, Toulouse, and Aquitaine.¹

Bernard of Gothia was the son of another (long dead) Bernard, often known to scholars as Bernard “le Poitevin,” because he acted at Poitou in 825. This Bernard “le Poitevin” had married a woman named Belihildis. Her name is known from a letter of Pope John VIII, who named her in 878 when he excommunicated her son.² This son, Bernard of Gothia, obtained the *honores* of Gothia in 865, as indicated below.

Bernard of Toulouse, the second of the three Bernards of 868/9, appeared in a document of Charles the Bald as the king’s *fidelis* in 869/70, in a charter that also recalled his father, Raymund of Toulouse. Raymund and his wife Bertasia had founded the monastery of Vabre in 862. Raymund, according to the *Annales Bertiniani*, was driven from Toulouse in 863 by one Hunfrid of Gothia, who was driven out himself in 864 and whose *honores* in Gothia went to Marquis Bernard of Gothia in 865.³ Bernard of Toulouse also probably took office in 865. He was dead, however, before 874, when a charter from Toulouse recalled the late Marquis Raymund and late Marquis Bernard. The conclusion seems inescapable that Bernard of Toulouse is therefore the same as the Bernard, nicknamed “Vitellus,” who according to the *Annales Bertiniani* was killed in 872.⁴ Bernard Vitellus cannot be the marquis of Gothia, who was still alive several years later according to Hincmar, nor can he be Bernard of Aquitaine, for the person who killed Bernard “Vitellus” was, according to Hincmar, “Bernard son of Bernard,” the name he generally used for Bernard of Aquitaine.

Since in his entry for 877 Hincmar referred to the two surviving Bernards as lords of Gothia and of the Auvergne, one can conclude that Bernard of Aquitaine also controlled the Auvergne at least by the 870s, if not before. (In fact, I believe he controlled it from 856; see below.) Bernard of Aquitaine must also be the same person as the Bernard “Plantapilosa” to whom Hincmar refers in 880 as receiving the county of Mâcon, since Bernard of Aquitaine’s son William is known to have had this county not much later.⁵

In 878, according to Hincmar, after Bernard of Gothia and his brother Imino rebelled against the young king Louis the Stammerer, this Bernard’s *honores* were taken from him and distributed among several other lords, including Bernard of the Auvergne [Aquitaine/Plantapilosa]. The author of the *Annales Vedastini*, reporting this same event at second hand, erroneously called Bernard of Gothia “Bernard, duke of Autun,” doubtless because Bernard and his fellow rebels fled to Autun in 879.⁶ This comment in the *Annales Vedastini* has further confused scholars in trying to straighten out the various

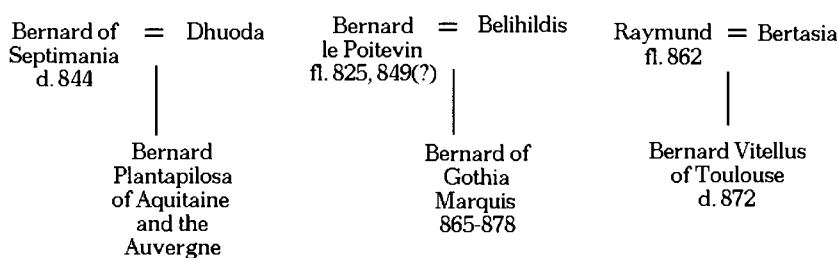


Figure A.1. The “three Bernards.”

Bernards, as there *was* no Bernard, duke of Autun in the 870s (for the counts of Autun, see Chapter 8).

Assuming then that, since Hincmar made it clear that there were three Bernards who mattered in the 860s and 870s, he would not have spoken of a fourth or fifth Bernard without at least explicitly distinguishing him from the three, one can draw a reasonably coherent picture of the three Bernards: one, nicknamed “Vitellus,” was marquis of Toulouse and was killed in 872; another was marquis of Gothia between 865 and 878, when he unsuccessfully rebelled against the king; and the third, son of Dhuoda, nicknamed “Plantapilosa” and often called “Bernard son of Bernard,” was marquis of Aquitaine and became count of the Auvergne and of Mâcon (see Figure A.1).

I should point out that my reconstruction of the three Bernards is not that of all scholars. It is quite close to the conclusions reached by Léonce Auzias,⁷ but others have come up with different permutations. Maurice Chaume, for example, identified the son of Dhuoda and Bernard of Septimania not as Bernard Plantapilosa of Aquitaine but as Bernard “Vitellus,” and said he was killed in 872. Bernard of Aquitaine he made the son of a hypothetical Bernard I of the Auvergne. Léon Levillain, although making Bernard of Aquitaine the son of Dhuoda, said that Bernard of Gothia, not Bernard of Aquitaine, was nicknamed “Plantapilosa,” and that Bernard “Vitellus” was not the marquis of Toulouse but rather Bernard of Aquitaine’s father-in-law, the hypothetical Bernard I of the Auvergne. J. Dhondt decided that the “three Bernards” of 868/9 were Bernard of Gothia, Bernard of Toulouse (whom he identified with Bernard Vitellus), and a Bernard, son of Childebrand, count of Autun; he identified Bernard of Aquitaine, Dhuoda’s son, as Bernard Plantapilosa, but distinguished him from these three, and also added a fifth Bernard, count of the Auvergne, Bernard Plantapilosa’s father-in-law. Joseph Calmette also concluded that Hincmar referred to five different Bernards: Bernard Plantapilosa of Aquitaine, son of Dhuoda; his supposed father-in-

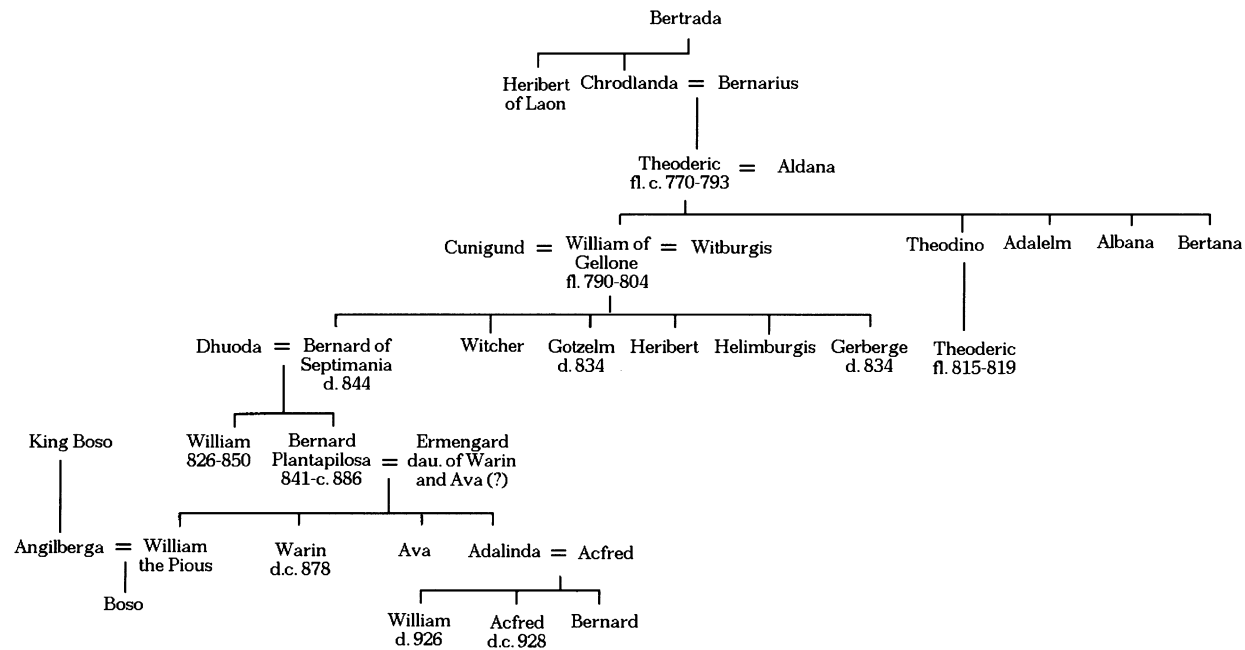


Figure A.2. The dukes of Septimania and Aquitaine.

law, count of the Auvergne; Bernard Vitellus, count of Autun; Bernard of Gothia; and Bernard of Toulouse. Finally, Janet Nelson has also suggested that Hincmar's *Annales* refer to at least five different men: Bernard of Toulouse; Bernard of Gothia; Bernard Plantapilosa, son of Dhuoda; Bernard of the Auvergne (whom she makes the "third" Bernard of 868/9 but does not make Bernard Plantapilosa's father-in-law); and Bernard Vitellus, a kinsman of Eccard of Autun.⁸ The difficulty, however, with all these identifications is that they assume that Hincmar, while speaking of *three* Bernards, actually had four or even five in mind (for a further discussion of "Bernard I of the Auvergne," see below).⁹

Having thus distinguished the three Bernards of the 860s and 870s (at least to my own satisfaction), I shall now turn to a broader discussion of the family of the dukes of Septimania and Aquitaine, that is the family of the "third" Bernard (see Figure A.2). The line is documented from the end of the eighth century. The first major figure is William, who retired to the Benedictine house of Gellone, associated with the reform of Benedict of Aniane.¹⁰

William had been made duke of Toulouse in 790 by Louis I, who was acting as king in Aquitaine under his father; in a charter of his own, given while Charlemagne was still alive, Louis said that William had been a glittering addition to the imperial court. In his testament for Gellone from 804, William recalled his parents, Theoderic and Aldana; his two wives, Cuni-gund and Witburgis; his brothers, Theodino and Adalelm; his sisters, Albana and Bertana; his children, Bernard, Witcher, Gotzelm, and Helimburgis; and a *nepos* named Bertrann.¹¹ Scholars often assign William another brother, named Theoderic,¹² whom they confuse with Theodino's son Theoderic, but this is an error; "Theoderic, brother of William" exists nowhere except in a forged charter for Gellone from two centuries later.¹³

William's father Theoderic was doubtless the same as the Count Theoderic who gave some *villae* to Abbot Fuldrad of St.-Denis in the 770s. Theoderic was the first witness to Fuldrad's testament in 777. Fuldrad mentioned in this testament some property "that had been Heribert's" as located near what Theoderic had given him.¹⁴ (Heribert was probably Theoderic's uncle; see below.) Theoderic also acted as the king's envoy in Saxony in 782 and again in 791 and 793.¹⁵ This count was called *propinquus regis*, even though the documents do not make clear how they were related.

William's brother Theodino was surely the father of the Theoderic who left all his goods to Bernard of Septimania, who would have been his cousin, and served as godfather for Bernard's son William. Theoderic had acted as count of Autun between 815 and 819 and was later referred to by Charles the

Bald as “Theoderic, son of Theodino.”¹⁶ The charter for Gellone lists Bernard first among William’s sons, so he was presumably the oldest. A contemporary *vita* of Benedict of Aniane says that William left his counties to his sons when he became a monk; an eleventh-century *vita* of William, based in part on the *vita* of Benedict of Aniane, says he left his counties to his sons Bernard and Gotzelm.¹⁷

Besides the children William mentioned in his charter for Gellone, he also had a daughter named Gerberge,¹⁸ mentioned among the names of the dead by Dhuoda, and a son named Heribert, still alive when Dhuoda wrote her *Manual*. Gerberge was drowned, Heribert blinded, and their brother Gotzelm beheaded in 834, at the order of Lothair I, who was at that point waging war against their brother, William’s oldest son, Bernard of Septimania.¹⁹

Some scholars have given William an additional daughter, named Rotlindis, who married Wala of Corbie. The name is taken from the Rotlindis in Dhuoda’s list of the dead. She is assumed to have married Wala because Wala was said in his *vita* to have married the sister of a certain tyrant referred by the pseudonym of Naso-Amisarius.²⁰ However, the description of this tyrant in the highly literary and stylized *vita* is unspecific enough to cast doubt on its use for genealogical information, and for that matter the phrasing is very vague as to who married whose daughter.²¹

It is interesting to note that, among William of Gellone’s children, some, like Witcher and Helimborgis, had names composed of elements of their parents’ names, while others, like Heribert, were named for people who also had the same complete name. In the following generation, however, among Bernard of Septimania’s children and descendants, everyone seems to have been given a complete name, not a name composed of shifting elements.²² Identification of children with other specific members of this lineage thus seems to have been the norm from the middle of the ninth century onward.

Bernard of Septimania was said by Thegan to be *de stirpe regali* and godson of Charlemagne,²³ but it is not known how he, any more than his grandfather Theoderic, might have been related. The easiest explanation (the one usually adopted by modern scholars) of the relationship between the Carolingians and the dukes of Septimania is that Theoderic’s wife Aldana (William of Gellone’s mother) was a daughter of Charles Martel, or at least a daughter of one of his wives, and thus was Charlemagne’s aunt. This would explain why William of Gellone gave his oldest son the Carolingian name Bernard, as it would have been the name of his mother’s brother, and also why Bernard was called *de stirpe regali*, as he would have been his king’s second cousin.

The evidence for such a link is that Aldana was recorded in a necrology

from Aquitaine with sisters named Hiltrudis and Landrada, while Charles Martel certainly had a daughter named Hiltrudis and also, according to a *vita* written in the ninth or tenth century, a daughter named Landrada, the mother of Bishop Chrodegang of Metz.²⁴ (He is not known to have had any other daughters.) However, this suggestion has not been universally adopted; Eduard Hlawitschka, for example, rejects it. He points out that Paul the Deacon's history of the bishops of Metz, written much closer to the events, does not call Bishop Chrodegang's mother Landrada a daughter of Charles Martel, only saying that she was of the highest Frankish nobility, nor does Chrodegang refer in his own charters to King Pippin as his uncle, only as his lord, and that if Landrada were not Charles Martel's daughter, then there is no basis for making Aldana his daughter either.²⁵ However, his own suggestion for the relationship between Theoderic and Charlemagne, that Theoderic's paternal grandmother was sister of the paternal grandmother of Charlemagne's mother, is based on no stronger evidence, and indeed it seems a weak explanation of why Bernard of Septimania would be called "of the royal family" if he were only the king's fourth cousin.

Another possibility is that Theoderic's mother was a sister of Heribert of Laon, Charlemagne's maternal grandfather. This would make Theoderic and Charlemagne first cousins once removed and Bernard of Septimania third cousin of his king. (The evidence for this connection is essentially the same evidence Hlawitschka used for his family tree, but I have interpreted it somewhat differently.) The starting point is the 721 foundation of Prüm by Bertrada, mother of Heribert of Laon.²⁶ After Bertrada and her son Heribert signed, the other three signatures were Bernarius, Chrodlanda, and Theoderic. Since Bertrada had said she had no other living sons but Heribert, it seems most logical that these are her son-in-law, daughter, and grandson. (Hlawitschka makes Chrodlanda her sister, since Bertrada is known from other evidence to have had a sister named Rotlindis, but a foundation like this seems much more likely to have been confirmed by a daughter than a sister.) Theoderic, whom I would therefore identify as William of Gellone's father, would have been very young in 721, young enough to be the Theoderic who gave property to Fuldrad of St.-Denis in the 770s and still to be acting as the king's envoy in 782. Such a connection would explain the name Heribert among William of Gellone's children. (Hlawitschka, by making everyone a generation earlier, had to introduce a second Theoderic between the couple Bernarius and Chrodlanda and William of Gellone's father.)

This explanation also has the advantage of providing a reasonable explanation for the Guarnarius and Rotlindis in Dhuoda's list of the dead, who

have puzzled many scholars. They would be William of Gellone's paternal grandparents, Bernarius and Chrodlanda, their names slightly modified (in this case, even if one concluded that Wala of Corbie married a daughter of William of Gellone, her name need not have been Rotlindis). Thus the Theoderic in Dhuoda's list, whom one would otherwise identify as the cousin of Bernard of Septimania she spoke of warmly elsewhere, is William of Gellone's father.

Therefore Dhuoda's list of the dead would include the memory of four generations in the male line before her son William, going back over a century. On the basis of this reasoning, the list of the dead, William, Cunigund, Gerberge, Witburgis, Theoderic, Gotzelm, Guarnarius, and Rotlindis, represented respectively William of Gellone, his first wife, his daughter, his second wife, his father, his son, and his paternal grandfather and grandmother. All were Bernard of Septimania's direct ancestors, with the exception of Gerberge and Gotzelm, Bernard's brother and sister who had been killed by Charles the Bald, and whom Dhuoda would have wanted her son, living at Charles's court, especially to remember.

I do not want to insist on this reconstruction, for fear of becoming trapped in circular reasoning. (I would like to find evidence for a consciousness of the male line in the eighth and ninth centuries, therefore I treat people not explicitly identified as though they were male-line ancestors, then take my point as proven.) But it should be pointed out that, given the small number of people and the enormous number of names current in the eighth century, the likelihood of there being two different couples named Guarnarius and Rotlindis—actually three, as a couple with these names appeared together again in 751, which would have been toward the end of their lives were they William of Gellone's grandparents²⁷—is actually very small. Finally, I would like to point out that it is possible that William of Gellone and his descendants were related to Charlemagne both through Aldana and through Chrodlanda, sister of Heribert of Laon, as Theoderic and Aldana would not have shared any common ancestors in spite of both being linked to the Carolingians. Of all these possible connections, none susceptible to positive proof, my personal favorite is making William of Gellone's grandmother a sister of Heribert of Laon, because it seems to fit the evidence best.

Bernard of Septimania, son of William of Gellone, married Dhuoda in 824. The *Annales Fuldensis*, recording his execution in 844 at the orders of Charles the Bald, call him "duke of Barcelona."²⁸ Bernard and Dhuoda had two sons, William and Bernard. Their older son, William, for whom Dhuoda later wrote her *Manual*, was born in 826, and their younger son, Bernard of

Aquitaine, apparently their only other child, in 841. Since their younger son was taken from Dhuoda by her husband before he was baptized, she does not specifically name him in her *Manual*, but he must be identical with Bernard of Aquitaine, since Bernard of Aquitaine first appears in the *Annales Bertiniani* with the appellation “son of Bernard” and, according to Hincmar, eager to avenge his father, executed by Charles the Bald; there is no one other than Bernard of Septimania that his father could be.²⁹

Sometimes scholars give Dhuoda and Bernard a third child, a girl who married Count Vulgrin of Angoulême.³⁰ Such a suggestion is based on Ademar of Chabanne’s vague comments that Vulgrin married a sister of a certain “William of Toulouse.” Aside from Ademar’s notorious inaccuracy and distance of a century and a half from the events, it would be very curious if Dhuoda had but did not mention a living daughter. Whomever Ademar was referring to as “William of Toulouse,” it seems unlikely to be Dhuoda’s son William, who did not outlive his father long enough for a contemporary to use him as a reference point for a woman’s family.³¹ Thus William and Bernard were most likely the only children of Dhuoda, or at least the only ones to survive infancy.

Bernard Plantapilosa of Aquitaine, younger son of Dhuoda and Bernard of Septimania, married a woman named Ermengard, who bore William the Pious, the founder of Cluny, as well as other children named Warin, Ava, and Adalindis. As Ermengard, wife of Bernard Plantapilosa, was referred to as “countess by the grace of God” in a charter of 886 from Brioude, it seems likely that she was the heiress of the Auvergne. This charter, and another from 885/6 in which William the Pious called himself son of Bernard with the implication that Bernard was dead, suggest that Bernard Plantapilosa died in 886.³²

There has been a great deal of debate about the family of Ermengard, wife of Bernard Plantapilosa. Scholars have usually made her the daughter of a hypothetical “Bernard I of Auvergne,” to explain how her husband acquired the Auvergne. This “Bernard I” is supposed to have lived until 868 or 872 or so, with the assumption that Bernard of Aquitaine acquired the Auvergne only at this time. I myself believe that the references to a Bernard, count of the Auvergne, in the 860s are references to Bernard of Aquitaine himself, not to his supposed father-in-law.

There was indeed a Count Bernard in the Auvergne who acted as abbot and rector of Brioude in 846 and 849. He appeared as married to a woman called Lieugardis in charters from that house. (This period, the 840s, was well before Hincmar started writing his *Annales*.) However, there is no basis for concluding that this Count Bernard of the 840s was Ermengard’s father. The

886 charter from Brioude that calls her “countess by the grace of God” makes no such explicit connection. Rather, it merely recalls two separate Counts Bernard, the second of whom married Ermengard.³³ There is thus no reason for scholars to keep the Count Bernard of the 840s alive for another twenty years, much less to make him Bernard of Aquitaine’s father-in-law.

I myself would suggest that Bernard of Aquitaine’s father-in-law was someone quite different, the famous Count Warin, who exercised power in Burgundy in the first half of the ninth century. He was an old friend of Bernard of Aquitaine’s family, for this is the same Warin who had accompanied Bernard of Septimania through Burgundy in 833, in service to Louis the Pious, and who barely escaped with his life in 834, when Louis the Pious’s sons rebelled against him and captured and killed the brother and sister of Bernard of Septimania, their father’s hated chamberlain. By the 840s, however, Warin had become a trusted ally of Charles the Bald.³⁴ There are two reasons for the suggestion that Warin was Bernard of Aquitaine’s father-in-law, names and property inheritance.

Count Warin married a woman named Ava (or Albana), and Bernard of Aquitaine named two of his children Warin and Ava (which, since Warin was more powerful than he, might be expected). Secondly, we know that Warin acquired the *villa* of Cluny, where the abbey was later founded, in 825, and yet this *villa* does not surface again until 893, when Bernard of Aquitaine’s daughter Ava gave it to her brother, William the Pious.³⁵ Since the documents recording Warin’s acquisition of Cluny and then William the Pious’s acquisition of it nearly seventy-five years later were given to the monks by William the Pious to prove his title, it would be very odd that there were no written transaction agreements for the period between 825 and 893, unless it was simply inherited from parent to child — such inheritances were almost never recorded in writing in the ninth century, though transactions between non-relatives often were. It is suggestive that *Ava* had inherited Cluny, perhaps providing an additional indication that Cluny came from her mother. Since therefore it seems likely that Ermengard, wife of Bernard of Aquitaine, was daughter of Warin and Ava, there is no reason to create a Bernard I of the Auvergne to be her father.

It is, however, possible that Bernard of Aquitaine acquired the Auvergne from his father-in-law, even if that father-in-law was Warin. Count Warin had been called count of the Auvergne in 819, and he may have maintained some claim to it. In addition, he was called duke of Provence in the “Chronicle of Aquitaine” for 841.³⁶ Warin died in 856, according to the “Series” of the abbots of Flavigny, where he was rector from 849 to his death. Bernard of Aquitaine

first makes his appearance as head of Brioude in 857, suggesting that he had just succeeded his father-in-law in the Auvergne.³⁷

Bernard's son Warin, said to be still a boy, became rector of Brioude in 868. This Warin had apparently died by 878, when Frotgar, archbishop of Bourges, began acting as abbot and rector, which office he held until his death, when he was succeeded by Adalgar, bishop of Autun. After Adalgar's death in 894, William the Pious, son of Bernard of Aquitaine and young Warin's brother, became abbot and rector of Brioude.³⁸ William the Pious had, as already noted, become duke of Aquitaine after his father's death in 886. As discussed further in Chapter 5, he married Angilberga, daughter of King Boso of Provence, and had a son, also named Boso. The boy, however, died before his father.

Ava, sister of William the Pious, it has been suggested, might have been the same person as the Ava, wife of a Count Geoffrey (usually called count of Nevers or of the Gâtinais by modern scholars), who appears in documents from Cluny from the 930s.³⁹ Although this identification is tempting, it seems curious that the sister of Cluny's founder would not mention the family connection in a donation to that house, and the dating of Ava's and Geoffrey's charters may be a bit late to make her the sister of a man who had been dead for close to twenty years.⁴⁰

Adalindis, the other sister of William the Pious, married a man named Acfred. After William died without surviving sons, her son, also named Acfred, inherited the duchy of Aquitaine. In a charter for Cluny from 927, his recalled his late uncles, William and Warin, as well as his parents. He also mentioned his two brothers, named Bernard and William for his mother's relatives.⁴¹

Appendix B: The Bosonids and the Family of Manasses

KING BOSO AND RICHARD LE JUSTICIER had two sisters. One, Richildis, the wife of Charles the Bald, is well attested in the documents (see Chapter 5). The second, however, has been the source of a good deal of scholarly confusion. As I shall discuss here, she provides the link between the Bosonids and the tenth-century counts of Chalon and Autun.

Count Manasses controlled Chalon at the very beginning of the century. He and his brother Walo are found in the sources as supporters of Richard le Justicier, and the “Series” of the abbots of Flavigny defined their relationship to him. Unfortunately, the manuscript has deteriorated and the section in question is no longer legible.¹ However, André Duchesne looked at the manuscript close to four centuries ago, when it could still be read. In his history of the house of Vergy (to which he attached Manasses), he printed the text from Flavigny as reading, “Duke Richard and Ingelbert ordered that Walo, brother of Count Manasses, the son-in-law of Richard’s brother Boso, be ordained as successor [as bishop].” (*Richardus dux et Ingelbertus Walonem fratrem Manasserii comitis qui gener erat B. fratris Richardi ducis successorem jusserunt ordinari.*) On the basis of this text, scholars have generally assumed that Manasses married a daughter of King Boso, either the girl who was briefly engaged to Charles the Bald’s grandson Carloman, or else another daughter, otherwise unattested in the sources.²

However, according to Duchesne’s handwritten transcription of the manuscript from Flavigny, which transcription still survives, Manasses was *not* Boso’s son-in-law but rather the nephew of Boso and Richard, the son of a sister: “Duke Richard and Ingelbert ordered that Walo, brother of Count Manasses, both of whom were born from a sister of Richard, be ordained as successor.” (*Richardus dux et Ingelbertus Walonem fratrem Manasserii comitis genitos ex sorore Richardi ducis successorem jusserunt ordinari.*)³

Duchesne seems to have had trouble with the ungrammatical *genitos*. In the margin he noted *qui geniti sunt*, which indeed seems its most probable meaning. But it seems to have taken him some thought to reach this conclu-

sion, for his complete marginal notation reads *Videtur legere genitos, id est genibus, seu qui generi fratris, id est qui geniti sunt*. These other orthographic speculations were doubtless the source of his incorrect printed version. Interestingly, as Maurice Chaume first noted, the phrase *qui gener erat B. fratris Richardi ducis* has been crossed out in black ink in virtually all extant copies of Duchesne's *Vergy*.⁴ The most likely explanation is that Duchesne himself realized that the phrase was in error and sought to obliterate it (Manasses and his relatives are discussed further in Chapter 8).

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Notes

Preface

1. "Strong of Body, Brave and Noble".
2. I discussed his family at some length in *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, pp. 265–70. For his role in the monastic reform movement of the early eleventh century, see my "Laymen and Church Reform."

Chapter 1: Introduction

1. Alberic de Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica* 1110, MGH SS 23:818; Georges Duby, "The Structure of Kinship and Nobility: Northern France in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *The Chivalrous Society*, pp. 134–48; Léopold Genicot, *Les généalogies*.
2. Karl Schmid, "Geschlechterbewusstsein am Beispiel ausgewählter karolingischen (Bild-) Stemmata aus dem hohen Mittelalter."
3. Georges Duby, *La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise*. This book, originally published in 1953, inspired all subsequent French regional studies.
4. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, ed., *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics*; Donald C. Jackman, *The Konradiner*, pp. x–xv; T. N. Bisson, "Nobility and Family in Medieval France," pp. 597–600.
5. One of the few exceptions is Régine Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir dans le monde franc*. Her book focuses almost entirely on the Carolingian period, the eighth and ninth centuries.
6. I first made this point in "The Structure of a Twelfth-Century French Family," pp. 41–43. The idea was picked up half a dozen years later by David Herlihy, *Medieval Households*, pp. 2–4.
7. Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir*, pp. 339–43. Anita Guerreau-Jalabert, "Sur les structures de parenté dans l'Europe médiévale," pp. 1030–31.
8. For English parallels, see Charlotte A. Newman, *The Anglo-Norman Nobility in the Reign of Henry I*, pp. 35–37. For Irish parallels, see Lisa M. Bitel, *Land of Women*, pp. 142–43.
9. Eleanor Searle, *Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power*, pp. 95–97.
10. *Annales Bertiniani* 879, 880, 882, ed. Félix Grat et al., pp. 239, 241–43, 247. For fraternal rivalries, see also Janet L. Nelson, "Public Histories and Private History in the Work of Nithard," pp. 272–73.

11. One of the most careful—and enthusiastic—modern genealogical studies is that by Christian Settipani, *La préhistoire des Capétiens*.

12. Jane Martindale, “The French Aristocracy,” pp. 5–45. For the concepts of nobility and knighthood, see Constance Brittain Bouchard, “*Strong of Body, Brave and Noble*,” pp. 1–15. Important discussions are also found in Joachim Bumke, *The Concept of Knighthood*; Georges Duby, “The Diffusion of Cultural Patterns in Feudal Society,” in *The Chivalrous Society*, pp. 171–77; Wilhelm Störmer, *Früher Adel*, pp. 13–28; Theodore Evergates, *Feudal Society in the Bailliage of Troyes*, pp. 144–50; P. Bonenfant and G. Despy, “La noblesse en Brabant”; Lucien Musset, “L’aristocratie normande”; Sally Harvey, “The Knight and the Knight’s Fee in England”; and Simon Barton, *The Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century León and Castile*, pp. 29–38.

13. Robert H. Lucas, “Ennoblement in Late Medieval France,” pp. 239–60.

14. Isidore of Seville, *De differentiis verborum* 11.10, PL 83:22; Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir*, pp. 168–77; D. A. Bullough, “Early Medieval Social Groupings.”

15. Probably the worst modern offender here is Szabolcs de Vajay; see for example his “À propos de la ‘Guerre de Bourgogne.’”

16. Maurice Chaume, *Les origines du duché de Bourgogne*, 1:505–53. Marc Bloch called Chaume’s lines of filiation “ingenious though improbable conjectures”; *Feudal Society*, 2:284.

17. Karl Ferdinand Werner, “Liens de parenté et noms de personne,” pp. 14, 25–26; and “Important Noble Families in the Kingdom of Charlemagne,” pp. 150–53.

18. *Cartulaire de l’abbaye de Savigny*, ed. Auguste Bernard, pp. 113–16, 120–21, 123, nos. 153, 157, 164, 169.

19. Cinzio Violante, “Quelques caractéristiques des structures familiales en Lombardie, Émille et Toscane,” p. 147. Störmer, *Früher Adel*, pp. 29–69. See also Reinhard Wenskus, *Sächsischer Stammesadel und fränkischer Reichsadel*, pp. 42–44, 58.

20. D. C. Douglas, “Rollo of Normandy,” pp. 422–23, 435.

21. For the practice of naming children for their godparents, see Joseph H. Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship in Early Medieval Europe*, pp. 172–73.

22. *Cartulaire de l’abbaye de Saint-Victor de Marseille*, ed. M. Guérard, 1:626–27, 641–42, nos. 630, 649. See also Noël Coulet, “Autour d’un serment des vicomtes de Marseille,” pp. 315–19.

23. Wilhelm Störmer, “Adel und Ministerialität im Spiegel der bayerischen Namengebung,” pp. 90–94; Cecily Clark, “Women’s Names in Post-Conquest England,” pp. 236–40.

24. Werner, “Liens de parenté,” pp. 26–27. See also Wenskus, *Sächsischer Stammesadel*, pp. 45–46.

25. Karl Schmid, “Über das Verhältnis von Person und Gemeinschaft in früheren Mittelalter,” pp. 228–32.

26. Erwin Assmann, “Friedrich Barbarossas Kinder,” pp. 459–63.

Chapter 2: The Origins of the French Nobility

1. For example, Noël-Yves Tonnerre, *Naissance de la Bretagne*, pp. 370–73.

2. George Beech, “Prosopography,” pp. 206–7.

3. “Igitur tempore Karoli Calvi, complures novi atque ignobiles, bono et honesto nobilibus potiores, clari et magni effecti sunt”; *Chroniques des comtes d’Anjou et des seigneurs d’Amboise*, ed. Louis Halphen and René Poupardin, pp. 25–29; Sallust, *Jugurtha* 8.1.

4. See also T. N. Bisson, “Nobility and Family in Medieval France,” pp. 605–6.

5. Aimon of Fleury, *Miracula Sancti Benedicti* 2.1, ed. E. de Certain, pp. 92–93. Richer, *Historia* 1.5, ed. Robert Latouche, 1:16. For the inferior status of knights in comparison to nobles at the beginning of the eleventh century, see Constance Brittain Bouchard, “*Strong of Body, Brave and Noble*,” pp. 10–15.

6. Judith A. Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England*, pp. 8–9, 131–34.

7. Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, 2:283–92. Bloch was influenced by, although he went far beyond, the concepts of P. Guilhiermoz, who believed that nobles were those who served the function of warriors; Guilhiermoz, *Essai sur l’origine de la noblesse en France au moyen âge*, pp. 1–4, 350–69. See also Giovanni Tabacco, “Su nobilità e cavalleria,” pp. 9–10.

8. Werner, “Untersuchungen zur Frühzeit des französischen Fürstentums”; idem, “Important Noble Families in the Kingdom of Charlemagne,” pp. 147–49. More recently, however, Werner has stressed how much the nobility changed, with the addition of new lineages, between the High Middle Ages and the Restoration of nineteenth-century France; *Naissance de la noblesse*, pp. 127–30.

9. E. Warlop, *The Flemish Nobility*, 1:43–52; Léopold Genicot, *L’économie rurale namuroise au bas moyen âge*, 2:1–22; Georges Duby, “Lineage, Nobility, and Knighthood: The Mâconnais in the Twelfth Century—A Revision,” in *The Chivalrous Society*, pp. 59–80; Jacques Bousard, “L’origine des familles seigneuriales dans la région de la Loire moyenne.” Spanish scholars too now argue that in Iberia the twelfth-century nobles were descended from those of earlier centuries; Simon Barton, *The Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century León and Castile*, pp. 28–29.

10. Karl Schmid, “Zur Problematik von Familie, Sippe und Geschlecht, Haus und Dynastie beim mittelalterlichen Adel,” pp. 4, 15–16, 30–31; Gerd Tellenbach, “From the Carolingian Imperial Nobility to the German Estate of Imperial Princes,” pp. 204–5; idem, “Zur Erforschung des hochmittelalterlichen Adels,” pp. 321–22, 326–27.

11. John B. Freed felt he had to contrast Germany with France because France, according to the literature cited above, “had no parvenus” but Germany did; Freed, “The Origins of the European Nobility,” pp. 213 n. 7, 241.

12. Duby, “The Nobility in Medieval France,” in *The Chivalrous Society*, pp. 100–103.

13. Léopold Genicot, *Les généalogies*, p. 4. Beech, “Prosopography,” pp. 199–203.

14. Wilhelm Störmer, *Adelsgruppen im früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Bayern*, p. 7.

15. James B. Wood posed a similar challenge to the concept of a static noble class in France for the early modern period; Wood, “Endogamy and Mesalliance,” pp. 375–77.

16. For Robert’s wars with the Vikings, see especially Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon* 861, ed. Friedrich Kurze, p. 79. See also the *Annales Bertiniani* 864, 865, ed. Félix

Grat et al., pp. 112, 123; Richer, *Historia* 1.5, ed. Latouche, 1:16; and *Annales Floriacenses* 866, ed. Alexandre Vidier, *L'historiographie à Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire*, p. 219. Bloch considered Robert the Strong a prime example of a man rising to power from humble origins, due to his strength and his sword; *Feudal Society*, pp. 284–85.

17. See, for example, Anatole de Barthélemy, “Les origines de la maison de France”; Ch. Mauguin, *Histoire des ducs de France*, pp. 32–95; J. Calmette, “La famille de Saint Guilhem et l’ascendance de Robert le Fort”; L. Levillain, “Essai sur le comte Eudes, fils de Harduin et de Guerinbourg,” pp. 261–71; and J. Dhondt, *Études sur la naissance des principautés territoriales en France*, pp. 323–24.

18. Richer, *Historia* 1.5, 1:16.

19. K. Glöckner, “Lorsch und Lothringen, Robertiner und Capetinger,” pp. 330–42; Werner, “Important Noble Families,” p. 172.

20. *Chronique de l’abbaye de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, ed. E. Bougaud and Joseph Garnier, p. 109.

21. *Miracula Sancti Benedicti* 2.1, p. 94. See also *Annales Bertiniani* 866, p. 132; and Levillain, “Essai sur le comte Eudes,” p. 270, n. 1.

22. Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon* 818, p. 73; *Annales Bertiniani* 834, p. 15; Alberic de Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica* 924, MGH SS 23:757. See also Werner, “Untersuchungen zur Frühzeit des französischen Fürstentums” (1960), pp. 87–115.

23. Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis* 2.20, 41.5, ed. Joseph Becker, pp. 46–47, 112–13. Alberic de Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica* 937, MGH SS 23:761. See also the genealogies in the eleventh-century *Chronicon Wirtzburgense* of Ekkehard, MGH SS 6:32.

24. The charters of the kings of Burgundy have been edited by Theodor Schief-fer, *Die Urkunden der burgundischen Rudolfinger*. The best study of their rule remains that by René Poupardin, *Le royaume de Bourgogne*. For the family’s origins, see Josef Fleckenstein, “Über die Herkunft der Welfen und ihre Anfänge in Süddeutschland,” pp. 71–136. For the marriage between Adelaide, sister of Rudolph I, and Richard le Justicier, see *Recueil des chartes de l’abbaye de Cluny*, ed. Auguste Bernard and Alexandre Bruel, 1:358–61, no. 379.

25. For Evrard of Friuli and his descendants, see the *Cartulaire de l’abbaye de Cysoing*, pp. 1–5, 11, nos. 1, 6; the “Translatio S. Calixti Cisionium,” MGH SS 15:419; Raoul Glaber, *Historia* 3.2, ed. John France, in *Opera*, pp. 104–6; Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon* 888, p. 129; and Adalbert, “Continuatio Reginonis” 952, *ibid.*, p. 166. See also Eduard Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder in Oberitalien*, pp. 169–72; and Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, pp. 140–55.

26. Jane Martindale, “The French Aristocracy,” pp. 33–34.

27. Recent works on the counts of Anjou include Olivier Guillot, *Le comte d’Anjou et son entourage*; and Bernard S. Bachrach, *Fulk Nerra, the Neo-Roman Consul*.

28. Fulk Réchin’s short but invaluable “Fragmentum historiae Andegavensis” was edited by Halphen and Poupardin, as was the twelfth-century *Chronica de gestis consulum Andegavorum*; *Chroniques des comtes d’Anjou*, pp. 232–38, 25–44. See also the *Cartulaire de l’abbaye de Saint-Aubin d’Angers*, ed. Bertrand de Broussillon; and the *Cartulaire noir de la cathédrale d’Angers*, ed. Ch. Urseau.

29. For Tortulf, see most recently Christian Settipani, “Les comtes d’Anjou et leurs alliances,” pp. 212–18.

30. *Recueil des actes de Robert Ier et de Raoul, rois de France*, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier and Jean Dufour, pp. 156–65, nos. 41–42.

31. *Cartulaire de St.-Aubin*, pp. 4–7, 59–61, 203–4, nos. 2, 36, 177. See also Werner, “Untersuchungen zur Frühzeit des französischen Fürstentums” (1958), pp. 264–66.

32. “Fragmentum historiae Andegavensis,” p. 233.

33. *Chronica de gestis consulum Andegavorum*, pp. 30–32.

34. Most scholars have postulated that Gerberge was the daughter of the couple Geoffrey and Ava, who held comital power in the Gâtinais. Bernard S. Bachrach, however, makes her the daughter of the viscount of Vienne and a great-granddaughter of King Bosó of Provence; “Some Observations on the Origins of Countess Gerberga of the Angevins,” pp. 4–6. Settipani has cast doubts on this reconstruction, “Les comtes d’Anjou,” pp. 226–30.

35. “Genealogiae comitum Andagavensium,” ed. Halphen and Poupardin, *Chroniques des comtes d’Anjou*, p. 248, no. 2.

36. Ademar of Chabannes, *Chronicon* 3.41, ed. Jules Chavanon, p. 163.

37. For the marriages of Adelaide-Blanche, see Richer, *Historia* 3.92–95, 2:116–20; Ferdinand Lot, *Les derniers Carolingiens*, p. 367; Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, p. 270; Settipani, “Les comtes d’Anjou,” pp. 248–50; and Thierry Stasser, “Adelaide d’Anjou, sa famille, ses unions, sa descendance,” pp. 14–19. Scholars once doubted her marriage to Raymond of Gothia, attested to by Richer, but this chronicler’s evidence is now generally accepted; see Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, *L’Auvergne et ses marges*, pp. 87–90.

38. For Raymond’s family, see Jean-Pierre Poly, “L’autre nom du comte Raimon.”

39. Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, “Autour de la prise de pouvoir par Hughes Capet,” p. 105.

40. Stasser, “Adelaide d’Anjou,” p. 25; Settipani, “Les comtes d’Anjou,” pp. 249–50; Harald Zimmermann, ed., *Papsturkunden*, 2:1010, no. 530.

41. This family can best be traced through the charters it gave the family foundation of Paray; *Cartulaire de Paray-le-Monial*, ed. Ulysse Chevalier. Viscount Robert appears as a viscount of Hugh the Black in a charter of 936; *Recueil des actes du prieuré de Saint-Symphorien d’Autun*, pp. 21–24, no. 7. See also Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, pp. 307–10.

42. Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor*, pp. 92, 97–98.

43. *Chartes de Cluny*, 1:609–10, no. 655; *Cartulaire de Paray*, pp. 2–3, no. 2.

44. Adelaide and Geoffrey Grey mantle had one son, Maurice; *Cartulaire noir d’Angers*, pp. 56–58, no. 25; *Cartulary of St.-Marcel-lès-Chalon*, ed. Constance Brittain Bouchard, pp. 29–31, no. 6.

45. *Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent de Mâcon*, pp. 6, 169–70, nos. 7, 284. For the family, see Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, pp. 261–70.

46. *Histoire général de Languedoc*, ed. C. Devic and J. Vaissette, new ed. by Émile Mabille and Edward Barry, 4:130–31, no. 38.

47. *Chartes de Cluny*, 1:420–21, no. 432; Siegfried of Gorze, letter to Poppo of Stablo, ed. Wilhelm von Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaizerzeit*, 2:714–18; Flodoard, *Annales*, ed. Ph. Lauer, pp. 158–59.

48. For Otto-William’s acquisition of Mâcon through this marriage, see *Cartu-*

laire de St.-Vincent de Mâcon, p. 6, no. 7; and Poupardin, *Le royaume de Bourgogne*, pp. 414–19. See also Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, pp. 264–65.

49. “Genealogiae comitum Andagavensium,” ed. Halphen and Poupardin, p. 249, no. 5. Fulk Réchin gave his parents as Geoffrey of Château-Landon and Ermen-gard, daughter of Fulk Nerra, “Fragmentum historiae Andegavensis,” *ibid.*, p. 232. Orderic Vitalis and the Chronicle of St.-Maixent, however, made Fulk the son of Alberic of Château-Landon rather than Geoffrey; Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica* 3.6, ed. Marjorie Chibnall, 2:304; and *Chronique de Saint-Maixent* 1060, ed. Jean Verdon, p. 134. Their statements are explained by the fact that Beatrix had two sons, Alberic and Geoffrey, who in succession were lords of Château-Landon; Orderic and the chronicler of Poitou simply confused the two brothers. *Cartulaire de l’église Notre-Dame de Paris*, ed. M. Guérard, 1:326–27, no. 19. See also Settapani, “Les comtes d’Anjou,” pp. 230–45.

50. “Origo et historia brevis Nivernensium comitum,” ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *Monumenta Vizeliacensia*, pp. 235–39.

51. *Cartulaire de St.-Cyr de Nevers*, ed. René de Lespinasse, pp. 49–50, no. 23; Adalbero of Laon, *Rhythmus satyricus*, ed. Claude Hohl, p. 795; “Annales Nivernenses,” MGH SS 13:90; Richer, *Historia* 4.98, 2:310–12; *Miracula Sancti Benedicti* 5.15–16, pp. 212–13; *Cartulaire général de l’Yonne*, ed. Maximilien Quantin, 1:166–67, no. 87.

52. *Annales Bertiniani* 865, p. 123.

53. Raoul Glaber, *Historia* 3.2, 4. 9, pp. 104, 212; Clarius of Sens, *Chronicon Sancti Petri Vivi Senonensis*, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier and Monique Gilles, p. 106. See also W. Scott Jessee, “A Missing Capetian Princess.”

54. For the counts of Nevers, see Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, pp. 340–51. For Bodo, see also Bachrach, *Fulk Nerra*, p. 72.

55. André Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes*, p. 252; Guy Devailly, *Le Berry*, p. 129; Michel Bur, *La formation du comté de Champagne*, pp. 151–53. Bur has suggested that Viscount Thibaud may have married a granddaughter of Charles the Bald. Whatever the accuracy of this suggestion, it is important to note that all the exalted blood of the early counts of Blois and Chartres came from their maternal rather than paternal ancestry. Raoul Glaber said the counts came from an *obscura linea*; *Historia* 3.9, p. 160.

56. Dominique Barthélemy, *La société dans le comté de Vendôme*, pp. 278–79.

57. “Historia Francorum Senonensis” 999, MGH SS 9:369. See also Werner, “Untersuchungen zur Frühzeit des französischen Fürstentums” (1959), pp. 172–73.

58. Sigibert, *Vita Wicberti* 1, MGH SS 8:508: “Siquidem ex prosapia numerositate accrescebat potestatis eminentia, ex possessionum multiplicitate rerum affluebat opulentia, per quos cumulari et provehi solet mundanae nobilitatis potentia.” See also Léopold Genicot, “La noblesse au moyen âge dans l’ancienne ‘Francie,’” p. 8.

59. Georges Duby, *The Early Growth of the European Economy*, pp. 167–71; Martindale, “The French Aristocracy,” p. 28.

60. Jean-Pierre Poly and Eric Bournazel, *The Feudal Transformation*, pp. 25–28.

61. Georges Duby, *The Three Orders*, pp. 151–52, 293–95, and “The Diffusion of Cultural Patterns in Feudal Society,” in *The Chivalrous Society*, pp. 171–75; Michel Parisse, “La noblesse Lorraine,” pp. 203–12; Robert Boutruche, *Seigneurie et féodalité*, 2:11; Bouchard, “*Strong of Body*,” pp. 15–26.

62. For the family, see Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, pp. 357–61. Many of their charters are found in *Cartulaire de Marcigny-sur-Loire*, ed. Jean Richard. For Geoffrey I's father, see *Cartulaire de Savigny*, pp. 236, 268, 324–25, nos. 435, 527, 645.

63. "Rudolphus Barbeta, Normannus," as cited in Ernest Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne de la race capétienne*, 2:434 n. 2. For the lords of Vignory, see Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, pp. 379–84.

64. For the Grossi family, see Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, pp. 295–307.

65. Léopold Genicot, "Noblesse et principautés en Lotharingie," pp. 195–96.

66. Störmer, *Adelsgruppen*, p. 190. See also Reinhard Wenskus, *Sächsischer Stammesadel und fränkischer Reichsadel*, pp. 466–67; and Michel Parisse, "La noblesse Lorraine," p. 305.

67. Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, pp. 259–60.

68. Jean Flori, *Chevaliers et chevalerie*, pp. 64–85. Dominique Barthélemy is essentially alone as seeing knights and nobles as a unitary group in the eleventh century; "Castles, Barons, and Vavassors in the Vendômois and Neighboring Regions." Werner, though denying that there was anything "new" about the tenth- and eleventh-century counts, still called the rise of knights into the ranks of the nobility "revolutionary"; "Important Noble Families," p. 180.

69. See Hugh's letter of 931, in which he mentioned his mother Beatrix; "Hugonis magni charta," RHGF 9:719. She was the daughter of the count of Vermandois; see the "Chronicon Sithiensis," *ibid.*, p. 77; the "Historia Francorum Senonensis," MGH SS 9:366; and Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica* 7.1, 4:345. For the descent of the counts of Vermandois from Charlemagne, see note 22 above. See also Karl Ferdinand Werner, "Die Nachkommen Karls des Großen," 4:413.

70. "Historia Francorum Senonensis," MGH SS 9:368: "Hic deficit regnum Karoli Magni." Ademar de Chabannes, *Chronicon* 3.30, p. 151.

71. Karl Ferdinand Werner, "Die Legitimität der Kapetinger und die Entstehung des 'Reditus regni Francorum ad stirpem Karoli'"; Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "The Reditus Regni ad Stirpem Karoli Magni"; Andrew W. Lewis, "Dynastic Structures and Capetian Throne-Right."

72. For the election of the first Capetian kings of France, Odo and his brother Robert I, see Abbo, *Bella Parisiacae urbis* 2.442–48, ed. Henri Waquet, pp. 98–100; and Flodoard, *Annales* 922, p. 10. For the ascension of Berengar I in Italy, see Liudprand, *Antapodosis* 11.5, 2.33, 3.1, pp. 17, 53, 73. On Berengar see, most recently, Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, pp. 140–55.

73. Léopold Genicot, "Princes territoriaux et sang carolingien," pp. 264, 279, 289. Although the late eleventh-century genealogy of the counts of Boulogne showed that they were descended—through women—from Charlemagne, this same text stated that Robert II "non fuit de styrpe illa."

74. Emil Kimpen, "Zur Königsgenealogie der Karolinger- bis Stauferzeit," pp. 57–63. Adalbold, the biographer of Henry II (1002–24), boasted that the king was descended from Charlemagne in seventeen generations on his father's side and sixteen on his mother's; Adalbold, "Vita Heinrichi II imperatoris," MGH SS 4:684. Although Kimpen's genealogical tables, attempting to demonstrate how seventeen generations could be fitted into 200 years, are quite tentative, it is clear that Henry II's Carolingian blood, if he had any, came through women.

75. Werner, "Untersuchungen zur Frühzeit des französischen Fürstentums" (1958), pp. 256, 263; (1959), p. 182; (1960), p. 119. For analyses that have accepted these views, see Martindale, "The French Aristocracy," p. 10 n. 20; Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, pp. vii–viii; Warlop, *The Flemish Nobility*, 1:43–52; and Bur, *La formation de Champagne*, p. 98.

76. Werner, "Untersuchungen zur Frühzeit des französischen Fürstentums" (1958), 279. Similarly, I do not find it necessary to accept Werner's conclusion that Fulk's wife's grandmother was the daughter of some great count named Gui only because Fulk named one of his sons Gui. Although there were a number of men named Gui in the ninth and tenth centuries, there is no evidence that more than a few of them were related; Tellenbach, "Zur Erforschung des Adels," p. 326.

77. Georges Duby, *La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise*, pp. 318–19.

78. Boussard, "L'origine des familles," pp. 306–11.

79. For arguments against a "closed noble caste," see also Tellenbach, "Zur Erforschung des Adels," pp. 321–22; Tabacco, "Su nobilità e cavalleria," pp. 5, 22; and Timothy Reuter, "Introduction," in *The Medieval Nobility*, p. 7.

80. Boussard has denied the "rupture" of the tenth century most explicitly; "L'origine des familles," p. 321. A similar attempt is behind the work of Werner and those who have followed him.

81. Frank D. Gilliard, "The Senators of Sixth-Century Gaul," pp. 695–96; Archibald R. Lewis, "The Dukes in the *Regnum Francorum*," pp. 406–8; Werner, "Important Noble Families," p. 147.

82. Boussard has even suggested that the ninth-century nobility must have been very fecund; "L'origine des familles," p. 322.

83. John B. Freed, *Noble Bondsmen*, pp. 90–91.

84. Duby, *La société mâconnaise*, p. 192, and *The Three Orders*, p. 150. See also Giles Constable, "Monasticism, Lordship, and Society in the Twelfth-Century Hesse," pp. 188–93. Werner has shown that a large group of free men existed in the ninth through eleventh centuries, even though he declared that they must have kept their place as dependents of the nobility since there was "no room for upstarts" in noble ranks; "Untersuchungen zur Frühzeit des französischen Fürstentums" (1959), p. 186.

85. These studies include Robert Boutruche, *Une société provinciale en lutte contre le régime féodal*; Archibald R. Lewis, *The Development of Southern French and Catalan Society*; Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier, *La société laïque et l'église dans la province ecclésiastique de Narbonne*; Bur, *La formation de Champagne*; André Debord, *La société laïque dans les pays de la Charente*; Duby, *La société mâconnaise*; Tonnerre, *Naissance de la Bretagne*; Barthélemy, *La société de Vendôme*; and Daniel Pichot, *Le Bas-Maine*. See also Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*.

86. The petty castellans of the Mâconnais, whom Duby studied, seem to have originally held their property as allods, when they became linked by marriage near the beginning of their histories with the older noble families; *La société mâconnaise*, pp. 142–50.

87. Duby, *The Three Orders*, pp. 7–8, 169.

Chapter 3: Consanguinity and Noble Marriages

1. Régine Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir dans le monde franc*, pp. 262–85; Michael M. Sheehan, “Choice of Marriage Partner in the Middle Ages.”

2. Robert’s granddaughter Hildegard, the daughter of the first Capetian duke of Burgundy, Robert I, married Duke William VIII of Aquitaine and became the mother of his children; hence she was Eleanor’s great-grandmother. See John of Salisbury, *Historia pontificalis* 23, 29, ed. Marjorie Chibnall, pp. 53, 61; *La chronique de Saint-Maixent*, ed. Jean Verdon, p. 138; and “Genealogiae comitum Andegavensium” 1, in *Chroniques des comtes d’Anjou et des seigneurs d’Amboise*, ed. Louis Halphen and René Poupardin, p. 247. See also Constance B. Bouchard, “Eleanor’s Divorce from Louis VII” (forthcoming).

3. X 2.20. 9, X 41.8.2, in *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. Emil Friedberg, 2:318, 718. X 2.20.24, ed. Walther Holtzmann, *Kanonistische Ergänzungen zur Italia pontificia*, p. 96, no. 49.

4. Lateran IV, can. 50; text in Charles-Joseph Hefele, *Histoire des conciles*, ed. and aug. H. Leclercq, 5/2:1372–73. See also Raymonde Foreville, *Latran I, II, III et Latran IV*, pp. 300–301, 371–72; John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, 1:333–36; and Georges Duby, “Le mariage dans la société du haut moyen âge,” p. 38.

5. Council of Rome 721, caps. 7–9, Mansi 12:263; Council of Rome 743, cap. 6, MGH LL 3/2:14. For the legal definition of consanguinity from late Roman times through the Middle Ages, see A. Esmein, *Le mariage en droit canonique*, 1:371–93; and Jean Gaudemet, “Le legs du droit romain en matière matrimonial,” pp. 169–71.

6. Pseudo-Isidore is cited by Jonas of Orléans (d. 843), *De institutione laicali* 2.8, PL 106:183–84. Siegfried of Gorze, letter to Poppo of Stablo, ed. Wilhelm von Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaizerzeit*, 2:714–18; Peter Damian, “De parentelae gradibus,” PL 145:191–208; Ivo of Chartres, *Epistola* 211, PL 162:215–16. See also Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir*, pp. 313–14.

7. Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum* 9.6, PL 161:658–59.

8. Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis* 5.32, ed. Joseph Becker, pp. 150–51. For Lothair, see below, Chapter 5. Siegfried of Gorze, letter to Poppo, ed. Giesebrecht, pp. 714–18; Pope Alexander II, letter of 1065, ed. S. Loewenfeld, *Epistolae pontificum Romanorum ineditae*, pp. 52–53, no. 106. See also Henry Thomas, “Zur Kritik an der Ehe Heinrichs III. mit Agnes von Poitou”; and James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe*, pp. 140–41.

9. Duby, “Le mariage,” p. 26; Pierre Toubert, “La théorie du mariage chez les moralistes carolingiens,” pp. 269–79.

10. Duby, *Medieval Marriage*. This formulation was accepted most recently by Neil Cartlidge, *Medieval Marriage*, pp. 7–10.

11. Jack Goody, *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe*, pp. 39–47, 123–25. See also Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, pp. 606–7.

12. See also Anita Guerreau-Jalabert, “Prohibitions canoniques et stratégies matrimoniales dans l’aristocratie médiévale de la France du Nord,” pp. 303–4.

13. The Spanish nobility too avoided consanguineous unions at this time; Simon Barton, *The Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century León and Castile*, pp. 55–56.

14. Synod of Ingelheim, cap. 12, MGH LL 4/1:15.
15. Ivo of Chartres, *Epistola* 261, PL 162:265–66.
16. Anselm of Canterbury, *Epistola* 4.84, PL 159:243; R. W. Southern gives a family tree to show this relationship, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, p. 79. See also Eleanor Searle, *Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power*, pp. 100–101. Celestine's letter was incorporated into Gratian's *Decretum*, C.35 q.6 c.2, and the thirteenth-century decretals, X 4.18.3, ed. Friedberg, *Corpus iuris canonici*, col. 718. For the author and date, see Holtzmann, *Kanonistische Ergänzungen*, p. 84, no. 22.
17. The only major point at which my reconstruction of this lineage's marriages differs from that of other scholars is that I do not believe Hugh Capet's wife Adelaide was from Aquitaine; see below, Chapter 6.
18. Marion F. Facinger, "A Study of Medieval Queenship," pp. 11–12.
19. The most detailed account of the three marriages and two divorces of Robert II remains that given by Ch. Pfister, *Études sur le règne de Robert le Pieux*, pp. 41–69. Later scholars have done little more than establish that Constance was from Arles, first done by Ferdinand Lot, *Les derniers Carolingiens*, pp. 361–69.
20. Richer, *Historia* 41.1, ed. Robert Latouche, 2:162. See also Johanna Maria van Winter, "Uxorem de militari ordine sibi imparem," pp. 113–24; and Pauline Stafford, *Queens, Concubines, and Dowagers*, pp. 37–38.
21. *Annales Quedlinburgenses* 951, MGH SS 3:58: "regali avorum atavorumque prosapia ortam." Queen Adelaide was daughter of King Rudolph II of Burgundy and granddaughter of Rudolph I. Her great-great-grandfather's sisters Judith and Emma had married the emperor Louis I and King Louis the German.
22. Gerbert of Reims, Letter 111, ed. Fritz Weigle, *Die Briefsammlung*, pp. 139–40: "nec ei parem in matrimonio aptare possumus, propter affinitatem vicinorum regum."
23. A. C. F. Koch, ed., *Oorkondenboek van Holland en Zeeland*, pp. 109–10, no. 59; Richer, *Historia* 4.87, 2:286; "Genealogia comitum Flandriae Bertinina," MGH SS 9:306; "Vita Sancti Bertulfi," RHGF 10:365.
24. Yves Sassier, *Hughes Capet*, pp. 262–65.
25. Richer, *Historia* 41.08, 2:330; Council of Rome 998, Mansi 19:223–30; Helgaud, *Epitoma vite regis Rotberti pii* 17, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier and Gillette Labory, p. 92.
26. Duby, *Medieval Marriage*, p. 47.
27. Adalbero of Laon, *Rhythmus satyricus*, ed. Claude Hohl, p. 795; Odorannus of Sens, "Chronica" 2, in *Opera omnia*, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier and Monique Gilles, p. 100.
28. Raoul Glaber, *Historia* 3.7, ed. John France, *Opera*, p. 106 and n. b; see also p. xci. Helgaud, *Epitoma Rotberti* 10, p. 74; "Chronica de gestis consulum andegavorum," ed. Halphen and Poupardin, *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou*, p. 43; "Genealogiae comitum Andegavensium," *ibid.*, p. 248; Aimon of Fleury, *Miracula Sancti Benedicti* 3.8, ed. E. de Certain, pp. 148–49; Richer, *Historia* 3.92–95, 2:116–20; Alberic de Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica* 1013, MGH SS 23:780. See also Duby, *Medieval Marriage*, p. 49.
29. Wipo, "Vita Chuonradi" 32, MGH SS 11:271; André of Fleury, *Miracula Sancti Benedicti* 7.3, p. 252. It is possible that Henry was engaged (or even married) to

two separate German princesses named Mathilda; see Andrew W. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France*, p. 45.

30. Hugh of Fleury, “Modernum regum Francorum acta,” MGH SS 9:338–39; “Annales Vindocinenses” 1051, in *Recueil d’annales angevines et vendômoises*, ed. Louis Halphen, p. 62; “Chronica regum Francorum,” RHGF 11:393. On Yaroslav and the Russian-German matrimonial ties in the years after 1050, see George Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, pp. 74–83, 340–43.

31. For Philip’s and Louis’s marriages, see the “Genealogia comitum Flandriae Bertiniana,” MGH SS 9:305–6; Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica* 8.20, ed. Marjorie Chibnall, 4:250; and Raoul Tortaire, *Miracula Sancti Benedicti* 8.24, p. 315.

32. Alberic de Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica* 1027, MGH SS 23:783. For Raynald of Nevers, see above, Chapter 2.

33. “Genealogia comitum Flandriae Bertiniana,” MGH SS 9:306.

34. For the two marriages of Philip’s daughter Constance, see Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica* 8.20, 4:264. She and Hugh of Troyes were related through her great-grandmother Constance, the maternal aunt of Ermengard, countess of Chartres and Hugh’s grandmother; see the “Genealogia Flandrensium comitum,” MGH SS 9:323. For Queen Constance of Castile, wife of Alfonso VI, see Falco, “Chronicon Trenorchienne” 49, in *Monuments de l’histoire des abbayes de Saint-Philibert*, ed. René Poupardin and Arthur Giry, pp. 104–5.

35. For examples, see Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir*, pp. 316–18.

36. See also Guerreau-Jalabert, “Prohibitions canoniques,” pp. 304–8. She asserts, perhaps due to a misreading, that my analysis completely ignores such repeated alliances between different lineages, and that I conclude that nobles meekly and precisely followed canonical prohibitions on incest.

37. Her name was Ermentrude. Her brother Gislebert was a count, and he also had a cousin named Gui, also a count; “Acta concilia Remensis ad Sanctum Basolum” 5, MGH SS 3:660–61. The identification of Count Gislebert as the count of Roucy is argued by Christian Settipani, “Les origines maternelles du comte de Bourgogne Otte-Guillaume,” pp. 10–11.

38. Raoul Glaber, *Historia* 3.2, pp. 104–6. For parallels, see Michel Parisse, “La noblesse Lorraine,” pp. 381–86; and John B. Freed, *Noble Bondsmen*, pp. 81–88.

39. For these marriages, see Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, pp. 273–75.

40. A number of scholars have mistakenly called Sybil by the name Mathilda, and have suggested that Odo I’s mother was somehow related to the counts of Burgundy. For a discussion of how these misconceptions began, see Jean Richard, “Sur les alliances familiales des ducs de Bourgogne,” pp. 37–46, 232.

41. Flodoard, *Annales* 923, ed. Ph. Lauer, p. 13; Raoul Glaber, *Historia* 1.1, pp. 10–12; Odorannus of Sens, “Chronica” 922, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier and Monique Gilles, *Opera omnia*, p. 94. Karl Ferdinand Werner, “Die Nachkommen Karls des Großen,” 4:458.

42. For the marriage of Beatrix with Robert I, see Clarius of Sens, *Chronicon Sancti Petri Vivi Senonensis*, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier and Monique Gilles, p. 72; “Chronicon Sithiensis,” RHGF 9:77; and a 931 letter of Hugh the Great, RHGF 9:719. For the marriages of the children of Heribert II, see Odorannus of Sens, “Chronica”

956, p. 96; Witger, "Genealogia Arnulfi comitis," MGH SS 9:303; Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* 4.33, MGH SS 13:584; idem, *Annales* 951, p. 132; and Werner, "Die Nachkommen," 4:464. For the marriage of the heiress of Vermandois and the brother of Philip I, see the "Genealogiae Fusniacenses" 7, MGH SS 13:253. The marriage between Hugh and the heiress of Vermandois was consanguineous within six degrees on her side and five degrees on his. See also Michel Bur, *La formation du comté de Champagne*, p. 96.

43. For the counts of Nevers and their marriages, see Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, pp. 340–51.

44. Donald C. Jackman, *The Konradiner*, p. 139, n. 230.

45. As has been done by Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir*, p. 322. Additionally, most of the family trees she cites to show marriages between close relatives have gaps, where one has to infer parentage. See also below, Chapter 5.

46. Bouchard, "Eleanor's Divorce." See also Duby, *Medieval Marriage*, pp. 54–62.

47. E. Warlop, *The Flemish Nobility*, 1:317–18.

48. For parallels, see J. E. Ruiz, "Système de parenté et théorie de l'alliance dans la société catalane"; Barton, *The Aristocracy in León and Castile*, pp. 50–51; and Freed, *Noble Bondsmen*, pp. 99–102.

49. See also Guerreau-Jalabert, "Prohibitions canoniques," pp. 299–301.

Chapter 4: Family Structure and Family Consciousness

1. Janet L. Nelson, "Public Histories and Private History in the Work of Nithard," p. 286.

2. Karl Schmid, "Zur Problematik von Familie, Sippe und Geschlecht, Haus und Dynastie beim mittelalterlichen Adel," pp. 15–16, 30–31; idem, "The Structure of the Nobility in the Earlier Middle Ages," pp. 39–49.

3. John B. Freed, "Reflections on the Medieval German Nobility," pp. 560–64.

4. For example, Georges Duby, "The Nobility in Medieval France," in *The Chivalrous Society*, pp. 101–3; Régine Hennebicque, "Structures familiales et politiques," pp. 289–90; Pierre Toubert, "The Carolingian Moment," p. 392; and Andrew W. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France*, pp. 3–16.

5. Janet L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 174–78. The thesis is, however, accepted by Jean Dunbabin, *France in the Making*, pp. 101–2.

6. Indeed, Régine Le Jan considers them patrilineal from the time of Charlemagne's great-grandfather, Pippin of Héristal; *Famille et pouvoir dans le monde franc*, p. 252.

7. See also the cautions of John B. Freed, *The Counts of Falkenstein*, p. 2.

8. Dhuoda, *Liber manualis*, ed. Marcelle Thiébaux. Dhuoda has received a good deal of scholarly attention of late, as indicated by the following notes, but the only major study of the social and familial significance of this *Manual* remains that of Joachim Wollasch, "Eine adlige Familie des frühen Mittelalters." Jürgen Hannig has commented on what the *Manual* reveals of the role of the high aristocracy in counseling the king; *Consensus fidelium*, pp. 201–5.

9. For Bernard's career, see, most recently, Philippe Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux*, pp. 137–39, no. 50.

10. Dhuoda, *Liber manualis* 10.5, p. 226; Wollasch, "Eine adlige Familie," pp. 183–85. If Guarnarius were someone who had died recently, he might be identical with the Warnarius who was murdered in 814, after Louis the Pious had appointed him to clean up the scandals at court; *Vita Hludowici imperatoris* 21, MGH SS 2:618. For another possibility, see Appendix A.

11. Dhuoda, *Liber manualis* 8.14, p. 204. See also Wollasch, "Eine adlige Familie," p. 163.

12. Dhuoda, *Liber manualis* 3.1–2, pp. 84–88. *Annales Fuldensis* 844, MGH SS 1:364. See also Wollasch, "Eine adlige Familie," p. 152.

13. Y. Bessmertny overstates the case in saying that Dhuoda favored a territorial nobility over royal authority; "Le monde vu par une femme noble," p. 175.

14. *Annales Bertiniani* 830, 844, ed. Félix Grat et al., pp. 1–2, 45; *Vita Hludowici imperatoris* 63, MGH SS 2:632; Nithard, *Historia* 2.5, 3.2, ed. Ph. Lauer, pp. 50, 82–84.

15. For example, Georges Duby, *The Knight, the Lady, and the Priest*, p. 92.

16. Dhuoda, *Liber manualis* 3.4, 3.8, pp. 92, 104.

17. Thegan, "Vita Hludowici imperatoris" 36, MGH SS 2:597. See also Peter Dronke, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages*, pp. 37–38, 48–50.

18. Dhuoda, *Liber manualis* 3.1, p. 86; M. A. Claussen, "Fathers of Power and Mothers of Authority," pp. 801–5.

19. *Annales Bertiniani* 850, 864, pp. 58–59, 113–14.

20. For William the Pious's wife, son, and nephews, see *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, ed. Auguste Bernard and Alexandre Bruel, 1:193–94, 202–3, 271–72, 282–87, 434–36, nos. 205, 214, 276, 286, 446; and "Cartulaire de Sauxillanges," ed. Henry Doniol, pp. 511–15, no. 13.

21. Wollasch, "Eine adlige Familie," pp. 176–77.

22. See also Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir*, p. 202.

23. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France*, p. 4.

24. Silvia Konecny, *Die Frauen des karolingischen Königshauses*, pp. 112–13, 139–42, 158–59.

25. I have relied for the most part on Karl Ferdinand Werner's reconstruction of the family tree of Charlemagne's descendants; Werner, "Die Nachkommen Karls des Großen," 4:403–82.

26. Paul the Deacon, *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium*, MGH SS 2:265; Jörg Jarnut, "Chlodwig und Chlothar," pp. 645–51; Eduard Hlawitschka, "Studien zur Genealogie und Geschichte der Merowinger und der frühen Karolinger," pp. 26–27.

27. Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir*, p. 204.

28. Paul the Deacon, *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium*, MGH SS 2:265.

29. Le Jan argues that a vertical, hierarchical family structure slowly replaced a more amorphous structure between the eighth and tenth centuries, beginning with the highest levels of the aristocracy; *Famille et pouvoir*, pp. 401–5, 427.

30. Alexander Callander Murray, *Germanic Kinship Structure*, pp. 39–77, 109, 137, 218.

31. This traditional view is perpetuated by Pierre Guichard and Jean-Pierre Cu-villier, "Barbarian Europe," pp. 341–45.

32. Gerd Tellenbach, *Königtum und Stämme in der Werdezeit des deutschen Reiches*, pp. 1, 22–29, 41, 74–84. Freed, “Reflections on the German Nobility,” pp. 573–75.

33. Lewis, in his discussion of the early Robertians/Capetians, says that they were an amorphously organized *Sippe*, but his own evidence shows that they gave all their emphasis, in names, inheritance, and alliance, to their paternal relatives; Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France*, pp. 3–16. On this point see also Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir*, pp. 259–60.

34. This point is made by Karl Leyser, “The German Aristocracy,” pp. 34–36; and *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society*, pp. 49–51. See also Freed, *The Counts of Falkenstein*, pp. 5–7.

35. *Liber memorialis von Remiremont*, ed. Eduard Hlawitschka et al., p. 4; *Libri confraternitatum Sancti Galli Augiensis Fabariensis*, ed. Paul Piper, pp. 84, 227; Karl Schmid, “Neue Quellen zum Verständnis des Adels,” pp. 186–88.

36. Henry was not exceptional. Le Jan estimates that a good half of the children born to the high aristocracy in the eighth and ninth centuries were named for paternal relatives, and only a quarter of the remainder are known to have been named for maternal relatives; Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir*, p. 186.

37. For example, Toubert, “The Carolingian Moment,” p. 395.

38. See also Nelson, “Public Histories and Private History,” pp. 286–89; and Karl Brunner, *Oppositionelle Gruppen im Karolingerreich*, pp. 23–29.

39. For the extent to which eleventh-century documentation has shaped our views of earlier society, see, more generally, Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*.

40. Recently several scholars have argued that the Peace of God was not a sign of decreased violence but rather of an increase; see T. N. Bisson, “The ‘Feudal Revolution.’” For a carefully reasoned counterargument, see Dominique Barthélemy, *La mutation de l’an mil a-t-elle eu lieu?*

41. Freed, *The Counts of Falkenstein*, pp. 7–9, 43–44; Claudie Duhamel-Amado, “Femmes entre elles,” pp. 125–55.

Chapter 5: The Bosonids

1. In origin the name may have meant someone bad or angry (as in the modern German *böse*); see Marie-Thérèse Morlet, *Les noms de personne sur le territoire de l’ancienne Gaul*, 1:60.

2. In spite of its date, the work of René Poupardin is still the best introduction to the first (Bivinid) branch of the Bosonids; Poupardin, *Le royaume de Provence sous les Carolingiens*.

3. Maurice Chaume made their father Richard, count of Amiens, on the basis of name-similarities alone; Chaume, *Les origines du duché de Bourgogne*, 1:84, 259, 545. He was followed by Christian Settapani, *La préhistoire des Capétiens*, p. 365.

4. Edmund Martène and Ursin Durand, eds., *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum amplissima collectio*, 1:97–98, 101–2; *Cartulaire de l’abbaye de Gorze*, ed. A. d’Herbomez, pp. 98–110, nos. 55–60; François Louis Ganshof, “Charlemagne et les

institutions de la monarchie franque,” 1:361. For Richard’s career, see most recently Philippe Depreux, *Prosopographie de l’entourage de Louis le Pieux*, pp. 363–65, no. 232.

5. *Annales Bertiniani* 869, 882, ed. Félix Grat et al., pp. 167, 247. Hugh of Flavigny gave Bivin another son, Bernoin, archbishop of Vienne (886–899), but Hugh wrote two centuries later and may well have been mistaken; *Chronicon* 1, MGH SS 8:356.

6. *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, roi de France*, ed. Arthur Giry et al., 2:438, no. 421; *Annales Bertiniani* 872, 876, pp. 185, 200; John VIII, Letters 94, 102, 109, 110, MGH Epp. 7:88–89, 95–96, 101–2. See also Janet L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 242–43; and Settipani, *La préhistoire des Capétiens*, pp. 369–71.

7. Boso and Richard le Justicier also had a second sister, whose name is not known; see Appendix B.

8. *Annales Bertiniani* 869, 870, 877, pp. 167, 169, 211. For the marriage between Charles and Richildis, see also Silvia Konecny, *Die Frauen des karolingischen Königs-hauses*, pp. 136–38; Jane Hyam, “Ermentrude and Richildis,” pp. 154–61; and Suzanne Fonay Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society*, pp. 90–91.

9. *Annales Bertiniani* 876, p. 201; Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon* 877, ed. Friedrich Kurze, p. 113. See also Konecny, *Die Frauen*, p. 127.

10. *Annales Bertiniani* 878, p. 229; *Annales Fuldensis*, MGH SS 1:392; MGH DD regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolynorum 2:268, no. 165.

11. *Annales Bertiniani* 871, p. 179; Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon* 877, p. 113; Robert-Henri Bautier, “Aux origines du royaume de Provence,” pp. 46–47.

12. Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon* 879, p. 114; *Annales Bertiniani* 879, p. 239; MGH Capit. 2:366–69, no. 284; John VIII, Letters 268, 293, MGH Epp. 7:236–37, 255–56. See also Poupardin, *Le royaume de Provence*, pp. 95–106; Chaume, *Origines de Bourgogne*, 1:281–96; and Bautier, “Aux origines de Provence,” pp. 48–51. Ermengard had been engaged to the emperor Basil; *Annales Bertiniani* 869, pp. 164–65.

13. John VIII, Letters 257, 299, MGH Epp. 7:225–26, 260–61; *Annales Bertiniani* 879, 880, pp. 235, 243; *Cartulaire de St.-Cyr de Nevers*, ed. René de Lespinasse, pp. 31–32, no. 15; *Annales Fuldensis* 880, MGH SS 1:394. For Bernard and William, see above, Chapter 4.

14. *Chronique de l’abbaye de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, ed. E. Bougaud and Joseph Garnier, p. 123.

15. *Essai historique sur l’abbaye de Saint-Martin d’Autun*, ed. J. Gabriel Bulliot, 2:9–15, no. 5; *Recueil des actes de Louis II le Bègue, Louis III et Carloman II, rois de France*, ed. Félix Grat et al., p. 124, no. 49; *Annales Bertiniani* 882, p. 247.

16. *Recueil des actes des rois de Provence*, ed. René Poupardin, pp. 31–34, nos. 516–18; “Epitaphium Bosonis regis,” MGH Poetae 4:1027–28.

17. *Annales Fuldensis* 888, MGH SS 1:405; Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon* 888, pp. 129–30. See also Eduard Hlawitschka, *Lotharingen und das Reich an der Schwelle der deutschen Geschichte*, pp. 65–66.

18. *Annales Fuldensis* 887, MGH SS 1:404. Bautier seems to be stretching the evidence in arguing that, as this “adoption” gave an official legality to Louis’s succession, there was no juridic link between Boso’s election and his son’s, eleven years later; “Aux origines de Provence,” pp. 66–67.

19. MGH Capit. 2:376–77, no. 289; *Recueil des chartes de l’abbaye de Cluny*,

ed. Auguste Bernard and Alexandre Bruel, 1:193–94, no. 205. See also Poupardin, *Le royaume de Provence*, pp. 66–67.

20. *I diplomi italiani di Lodovico III e di Rodolfo II*, ed. Luigi Schiaparelli, pp. 4–5, 17–18, 37–38, nos. 1, 5, 12; Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon* 898, p. 146. See also Settipani, *La préhistoire des Capétiens*, pp. 377–78.

21. PG 111:197. This identification was first argued in detail by C. W. Previté-Orton, “Charles Constantine of Vienne,” pp. 703–6. See also Werner Ohnsorge, *Abendland und Byzanz*, pp. 228–34; and *Konstantinopel und der Okzident*, pp. 172–75.

22. *I diplomi di Berengario I*, ed. Luigi Schiaparelli, pp. 96–146, nos. 32–50; Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon* 905, p. 150; Liudprand, *Antapodosis* 2.41, ed. Joseph Becker, pp. 55–56; *Recueil des actes des rois de Provence*, pp. 120–22, no. 68.

23. Settipani argues rather that she was a niece of Rudolph I; *La préhistoire des Capétiens*, p. 379 and n. 117.

24. *Recueil des actes des rois de Provence*, pp. 100, 120–22, nos. 54, 68; *Cartulaire de l’abbaye de Saint-André-le-Bas*, ed. C.-U.-J. Chevalier, pp. 226–27, no. 16; *Chartes de Cluny*, 1:358–61, no. 379; *Chronique de St.-Bénigne*, p. 126; Poupardin, *Le royaume de Provence*, pp. 207–8; Karl Ferdinand Werner, “Die Nachkommen Karls des Großen,” 4:459.

25. *Chartes de Cluny*, 1:219–21, nos. 229, 230; 2:186–87, no. 1094.

26. See for example Chaume, *Origines de Bourgogne*, 1:85, 447 n. 2; and Emil Kimpen, “Zur Königsgenealogie der Karolinger-bis Stauferzeit,” p. 75.

27. *Cartulaire de Saint-André-le-Bas*, p. 231, no. 21a; *Cartulaire de l’abbaye de Saint-Barnard de Romans*, ed. [Ulysse Chevalier], 1:21–22, no. 11; RHGF 9:690–91.

28. Richer, *Historia* 2.98, ed. Robert Latouche, 1:288–90.

29. Flodoard, *Annales* 931, 941, 951, ed. Ph. Lauer, pp. 46, 83, 129.

30. *Chartes de Cluny*, 1:358–61, no. 379.

31. *Gesta pontificum Autissiodorensium* 42, ed. L.-M. Duru, pp. 366–67; *Chronique de St.-Bénigne*, pp. 115–16, 122–23.

32. *Chronique de St.-Bénigne*, p. 126; Flodoard, *Annales* 923, pp. 13–14, 17; *Recueil des actes de Robert Ier et de Raoul, rois de France*, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier and Jean Dufour, pp. 19–22, no. 3.

33. For these names, see below, Chapter 7.

34. *Chronique de St.-Bénigne*, p. 126; *Chartes de Cluny*, 1:358–61, no. 379.

35. For these counts, descendants of Raoul’s perhaps illegitimate brother Gibuin, see Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, pp. 319–23; and Settipani, *La préhistoire des Capétiens*, pp. 390–93.

36. Boso referred to Tetburgis, sister of Hubert, as his maternal aunt, *matertera*; *Annales Bertiniani* 869, p. 167.

37. Settipani argues against assigning this woman her daughter’s name; *La préhistoire des Capétiens*, pp. 366–67.

38. See, for example, “Vita Sanctae Sadalbergae,” MGH SS rerum Merovingicarum 5:55; *Cartulaire de Gorze*, pp. 43–44; MGH Capit. 1:314, no. 155; *Recueil des chartes de l’abbaye de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire*, ed. Maurice Prou and Alexandre Vidier, 1:43–46, no. 19; Maximilien Quantin, ed., *Cartulaire général de l’Yonne*, 1:93–95, no. 47; *Recueil des actes des rois de Provence*, pp. 29–30, no. 15.

39. Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon* 866, pp. 84–85; *Annales Bertiniani* 862, 863, 865,

pp. 95, 101–3, 121–22; John VIII, Letters 111, 129–30, 14a, MGH Epp. 7:102–3, 114–15, 280. See also Poupardin, *Le royaume de Provence*, pp. 297–306.

40. Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon* 859, p. 78.

41. Ibid. 864, 866, pp. 80–81, 85–89; *Annales Bertiniani* 864, p. 116; Hincmar of Reims, *De divortio Lotharii regis et Theutbergae reginae*; Nicholas I, *Epistolae* 1, 42, RHGF 7:385, 434. For this divorce, see also Stuart Airlie, “Private Bodies and the Body Politic in the Divorce Case of Lothar II”; Peter R. McKeon, *Hincmar of Laon and Carolingian Politics*, pp. 39–50; Pauline Stafford, “Sons and Mothers,” p. 90; Konecny, *Die Frauen*, pp. 103–17; and Jane Bishop, “Bishops as Marital Advisors in the Ninth Century,” pp. 55–63.

42. *I diplomi di Ugo e di Lotario, di Berengario II e di Adalberto*, ed. Luigi Schiaparelli, pp. 102–7, nos. 33, 35.

43. Karl Schmid, “Geschlechterbewusstsein am Beispiel ausgewählter karolingischen (Bild-) Stemmata aus dem hohen Mittelalter,” figure 1.

44. *Cartulaire de St.-André-le-Bas*, pp. 87–89, 221–25, nos. 129, 12a–14a; *Recueil des actes des rois de Provence*, pp. 88, 98–99, nos. 47, 53.

45. Liudprand, *Antapodosis* 3.2, 12, 16–17, pp. 74, 79, 81; Flodoard, *Annales* 924, 926, pp. 22–23, 35; *Codex diplomaticus Langobardiae*, pp. 886–87, no. 520. See also Poupardin, *Le royaume de Provence*, pp. 204–5, 219–22.

46. Liudprand, *Antapodosis* 2.33, 55–56, 3.7–8, pp. 52–53, 63–64, 77–78; Flodoard, *Annales* 926, p. 35; *Codex Langobardiae*, pp. 887–88, no. 521.

47. Liudprand, *Antapodosis* 2.48, 3.43–47, 4.3, pp. 58–60, 95–99, 104. For Marozia’s career, see also Eleanor Shipley Duckett, *Death and Life in the Tenth Century*, pp. 55–57.

48. This identification goes back to Georges de Manteyer, “Les origines de la maison de Savoie en Bourgogne,” p. 440.

49. Liudprand, *Antapodosis* 3.47, 4.7, 11, pp. 99, 107–11.

50. *I diplomi di Ugo*, pp. 139–44, nos. 46–47. See also Pauline Stafford, *Queens, Concubines, and Dowagers*, p. 53.

51. Liudprand, *Antapodosis* 3.20, 4.15, 5.14, 20, pp. 82, 111–12, 137, 141; MGH SS rerum Langobardicarum, p. 572; MGH DD regum et imperatorum Germaniae 2:845, no. 411. See also Werner, “Die Nachkommen,” 4:465–66.

52. *I diplomi di Ugo*, pp. 297–98, no. 3; *Codex Langobardiae*, pp. 1024–25, 1126, nos. 598–99, 654; MGH DD regum et imperatorum Germaniae 1:221–22, 324, nos. 141, 235.

53. Clarius, *Chronicon Sancti Petri Vivi Senonensis* 924, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier and Monique Gilles, p. 26.

54. King Hugh referred to her son Hugh as his *nepos*, and Liudprand called her son Manasses the *consanguineus* of King Hugh. *Cartulaire de St.-André-le-Bas*, pp. 232–33, no. 22a; Liudprand, *Antapodosis* 4.6, p. 105.

55. *Cartulaire de St.-André-le-Bas*, pp. 87–89, no. 129; *Recueil des actes des rois de Provence*, pp. 107–8, no. 59; *I diplomi di Ugo*, pp. 131–32, no. 43; *Chartes de Cluny*, 1:231–34, 681–83, nos. 241, 242, 726; A. Giry, ed., “Études carolingiennes, V,” pp. 135–36, nos. 27, 31.

56. AASS June 8:543–48; “*Annales Sanctae Columbae Senonensis*” 1056, 1078, MGH SS 1:106.

57. Konecny, *Die Frauen*, pp. 31, 74–77, 112–13.
58. Le Jan asserts that the marriages of Richard le Justicier's son Boso and of Charles-Constantine were consanguineous, suggesting that they were not as concerned with avoiding incest as I here argue; *Famille et pouvoir*, pp. 319–21. However, such an assertion requires accepting identifications for their wives that are not attested in the primary sources. Charles-Constantine may have married a woman to whom he was related within four degrees, if she was indeed of the Warnerian lineage, but that is far from certain. And here my argument concerns only marriages between the Bosonids and the Carolingians.
59. Flodoard, *Annales* 966, p. 158; Richer, *Historia* 3.87, 2:110.
60. Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, pp. 125–26.
61. GC 13:311–13, no. 27; *Cartulaire de Gorze*, pp. 100–102, 157–62, nos. 57, 87–88; *Chronique de St.-Bénigne*, pp. 113, 124; *Codex Langobardiae*, pp. 414–15, 452–57, 575–76, 680–81, nos. 245, 270, 345, 403; *I diplomi di Lodovico*, pp. 17–18, no. 5; *I diplomi di Ugo*, pp. 7–9, no. 2; *Cartulaire de St.-André-le-Bas*, pp. 224–25, 231, nos. 14a, 21a; RHGF 9:689–90; *Cartulaire de St.-Barnard*, pp. 10–14, 21–22, 65–68, nos. 6, 11, 55.
62. Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound*, pp. 34–56.
63. *Cartulaire de St.-André-le-Bas*, pp. 87–89, no. 129; *Chartes de Cluny*, 1:434–36, no. 446.
64. *Chartes de Cluny*, 1:124–28, no. 112.
65. *Cartulaire de Brioude*, ed. Henry Doniol, pp. 48–50, 87–88, nos. 26, 66.
66. *Liber memorialis von Remiremont*, ed. Eduard Hlawitschka et al., p. 4. See also Hlawitschka, *Lotharingien und das Reich*, pp. 241–44.
67. *Chartes de Cluny*, 1:39–40, 358–61, 379–82, 393–95, 403–4, 483–85, nos. 33, 379, 396, 397, 408, 417, 499.
68. Karl Brunner, *Oppositionelle Gruppen im Karolingerreich*, pp. 8–9, 149–50, 194–95; Wilhelm Störmer, *Adelsgruppen im früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Bayern*, p. 7.
69. Le Jan has similar difficulties in referring to the Ottonians, the Capetians, the Rudolphians, the Carolingians, and the dukes of both Upper and Lower Lotharingia as all part of a “Saxon genus,” because they were related through marriage; *Famille et pouvoir*, pp. 414–16. None of these lineages would have considered themselves part of the same family as the others.
70. Liudprand, *Antapodosis* 3.47, 4.11, pp. 99, 109–10.

Chapter 6: Patterns of Women's Names in Royal Lineages

1. George T. Beech, “Les noms de personne poitevins.” See also below, Chapter 9.
2. Wilhelm Störmer, “Adel und Ministerialität im Spiegel der bayerischen Namengebung,” pp. 88–90; Karl Ferdinand Werner, “Liens de parenté et noms de personne,” pp. 15–17.
3. Maurice Chaume, *Les origines du duché de Bourgogne*, 1:519–20.
4. Jean Dunbabin, “What's in a Name?”; Georges Duby, *The Knight, the Lady, and the Priest*, p. 7.

5. Cecily Clark, "Women's Names in Post-Conquest England," pp. 239–50. See also Störmer, "Adel und Ministerialität," pp. 90–94; and Régine Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir dans le monde franc*, p. 191.

6. Wilhelm Störmer, *Früher Adel*, pp. 29–69; Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir*, pp. 185–86.

7. The basic work on Charlemagne's descendants is that of Karl Ferdinand Werner, "Die Nachkommen Karls des Großen bis um das Jahr 1000." See also Christian Settiani, *La préhistoire des Capétiens*, pp. 191–339.

8. For the insistence of the Carolingian kings that their sons remain single during their lifetimes, see Regino of Prüm, *Chronica* 879, ed. Friedrich Kurze, p. 114. See also Pauline Stafford, *Queens, Concubines, and Dowagers*, pp. 35–36.

9. See also Janet L. Nelson, "Women at the Court of Charlemagne," pp. 43–61.

10. Eduard Hlawitschka, "Studien zur Genealogie und Geschichte der Merovinger und der frühen Karolinger," pp. 23, 26.

11. "Vita Sancti Adalhardi," PL 120:1525–26, 1539. See also Eduard Hlawitschka, "Die Vorfahren Karls des Großen," 1:81.

12. Settiani suggests, contradicting Werner, that Alpaidis was daughter not of Louis I but of Charlemagne; *La préhistoire des Capétiens*, pp. 200–203.

13. *Annales Fuldensis* 714, MGH SS 1:343. This story was picked up by Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* 4.46, MGH SS 13:395. However, Richard A. Gerberding argues that Alpaidis may actually have been a legitimate wife, even if sister of a household official; *The Rise of the Carolingians and the "Liber Historiae Francorum"*, pp. 118–19.

14. Bertha is omitted from Werner's family tree; "Die Nachkommen."

15. Paul the Deacon, *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium*, MGH SS 2:265.

16. Louis's wife Angilberga also became a nun at San Salvatore after her husband's death. *Codex diplomaticus Langobardiae*, pp. 414–15, no. 245.

17. Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, p. 62.

18. Werner, "Die Nachkommen," pp. 432–33.

19. *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Cysoing*, ed. Ignace de Coussemaker, p. 11. Le Jan suggests that Evrard's mother was named Ingeltrudis, to explain this name among her granddaughters, and similarly suggests that Gisela's mother was named Heilwig; Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir*, p. 183.

20. *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, ed. Auguste Bernard and Alexandre Bruel, 1:193–94, no. 205. See also Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir*, p. 205.

21. For Tetburgis, see above, Chapter 5. For Ermengard, see Liudprand, *Antapodosis* 2.55–56, ed. Joseph Becker, pp. 62–63.

22. "Tabula genealogica," MGH SS 2:314.

23. Siegfried of Gorze, letter to Poppo of Stablo, ed. Wilhelm von Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 2:714–18; Flodoard, *Annales*, pp. 158–59; Richer, *Historia*, ed. Robert Latouche, 2:328–30.

24. Gerberge was probably the daughter of Henry I of Bavaria, Otto I's brother, but it is possible that she was instead the daughter of his son Henry II of Bavaria, as both Otto I and Otto II called her their *neptis*; MGH DD regum et imperatorum Germaniae 1:576, no. 422; 2:44–45, 228, nos. 35, 201. K. J. Leyser makes Gerberge the daughter of Henry I of Bavaria; *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society*, table

between pp. 91, 92. Werner, however, does not include Gerberge among the children of Henry I; “Die Nachkommen.”

25. For the children of Gerberge and Giselbert, see Flodoard, *Annales*, pp. 158–59; Liudprand, *Antapodosis* 4.31, p. 126; MGH DD regum et imperatorum Germaniae 1:365, no. 256; *Liber memorialis von Remiremont*, ed. Eduard Hlawitschka et al., 1:9; and Emil Kimpfen, “Rheinische Anfänge des Hauses Habsburg-Lothringen,” p. 37, n. 182. Leyser does not include Biltrudis among this couple’s daughters and identifies Alberada rather than Biltrudis as the (unnamed) daughter who Liudprand says was engaged to the duke of Bavaria; Leyser, *Rule and Conflict*, p. 54.

26. “Brunwilarensis monasterii fundatorum actus” 1.7, MGH SS 14:125, 129. See also Ursula Lewald, “Die Ezzonen,” p. 121.

27. *Liber memorialis von Remiremont*, 1:8; Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir*, p. 110; Karl Schmid, “Unerforschte Quellen aus quellenarmer Zeit,” pp. 126–27.

28. Werner, “Die Nachkommen,” p. 458; Michel Bur, *La formation du comté de Champagne*, p. 96; Andrew W. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France*, pp. 10–11.

29. *Recueil des actes de Charles III le Simple*, ed. Philippe Lauer, pp. 123–25, no. 57.

30. Settipani, *La préhistoire des Capétiens*, pp. 407–8.

31. Helmut Schwager, *Graf Heribert II. von Soissons, Omois, Meaux, Madrie sowie Vermandois*, pp. 401–2.

32. For the marriages between the Robertians and the counts of Vermandois, see the 931 letter of Hugh the Great, RHGF 9:719; the “Historia regum Francorum,” *ibid.*, p. 43; the “Chronicon Sithiensi,” *ibid.*, p. 77; and Chapter 3, above.

33. Settipani argues that Hugh chose the name Gisela because it was a “Carolingian” name; *La préhistoire des Capétiens*, pp. 417–19.

34. Lot, *Les derniers Carolingiens*, pp. 358–61.

35. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France*, p. 12 and n. 28; Settipani, *La préhistoire des Capétiens*, pp. 418–19; *Recueil des actes de Lothaire et de Louis V, rois de France*, ed. Louis Halphen and Ferdinand Lot, pp. 108–10, no. 48.

36. Richer, *Historia* 4.108, 2:330.

37. *Chronique de Saint-Maixent*, ed. Jean Verdon, p. 94.

38. Lot, *Les derniers Carolingiens*, p. 360, n. 2; René Merlet, “Les origines du monastère de Saint-Magloire de Paris,” p. 247. Settipani, however, insists on this charter’s value; *La préhistoire des Capétiens*, pp. 407–8.

39. *Chartes de Cluny*, 4:13–14, no. 2811; *Monumenta Vizeliacensia*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, pp. 218, 238; Raoul Glaber, *Historia* 4.9, ed. John France, in *Opera*, p. 212. See, most recently, W. Scott Jessee, “A Missing Capetian Princess”; and Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France*, p. 24 and n. 74. Initially, however, I argued for the accuracy of the “Origo”; Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, pp. 343–44.

40. Scholars often identify Conrad I’s wife Adelaide with the wife of Robert the Strong; see, for example, Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir*, p. 209. But the one piece of primary evidence generally cited as proof does not support such an identification; see above, Chapter 2.

41. Rudolph I is sometimes said to have had a daughter Adelaide, who is identified with Adelaide, wife of the emperor Louis the Blind; see above, Chapter 5.

42. Gerbert of Reims, *Die Briefsammlung*, ed. Fritz Weigle, pp. 104–5, no. 74.

43. Hermann, “Augiensis Chronicon” 995, MGH SS 5:117.

44. Karl August Eckhardt also remarked this transition; *Studia Merovingica*, p. 90. He believed it was an indication that the Ottonians had reached a social level equal to the Carolingians.

45. Siegfried of Gorze, letter to Poppo, ed. Giesebrecht, pp. 714–18; Jane Martin-dale, “The French Aristocracy in the Early Middle Ages,” p. 39. See also below, Chapter 7.

46. Karl Schmid, “Zur Problematik von Familie, Sippe und Geschlecht, Haus und Dynastie beim mittelalterlichen Adel,” pp. 20–21; Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France*, pp. 3–16.

47. See also Anita Guerreau-Jalabert, “Sur les structures de parenté dans l’Europe médiévale,” p. 1031.

Chapter 7: Migration of Women’s Names in the Upper Nobility

1. Helmut Schwager is alone in arguing that Robert I’s wife Beatrix was not related to the counts of Vermandois; *Graf Heribert II. von Soissons, Omois, Meaux, Madrie sowie Vermandois*, pp. 406–9.

2. *Acta sanctorum ordinis S. Benedicti*, 7:246. For the infrequency of the name, see also Hans-Walter Klewitz, “Die Abstammung der Kaiserin Beatrix,” pp. 204–12.

3. Maurice Chaume is mistaken in claiming that queens’ names were treated with “respect” and not used by nonroyal women; Chaume, *Les origines du duché de Bourgogne*, 1:522.

4. Donald C. Jackman suggests that Beatrix, wife of Count Ufgau, may have been her daughter, while recognizing that there is no evidence other than name similarities; *The Konradiner*, pp. 134–35.

5. This Hildegard, it should be noted, was doubtless named for her paternal grandmother, Hildegard, rather than for Hadwidis/Hildegard, her maternal aunt. See Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, p. 380.

6. See also Régine La Jan, *Famille et pouvoir dans le monde franc*, p. 221.

7. These two nieces were abbesses, Mathilda of Essen and Gerberge of Gandersheim. It is not entirely clear how these women were related to Otto, who called each his *neptis* in 990; MGH DD regum et imperatorum Germaniae 2:465, 473, nos. 59, 67. K. J. Leyser identifies them with Mathilda, abbess of Quedlinburg and daughter of Otto I’s son Liudolf, and Gerberge, daughter of Otto I’s brother Henry of Bavaria and abbess of Gandersheim in 972/3; Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society*, table between pp. 91 and 92. However, it seems curious that Otto III should call each of these women his *neptis*; Mathilda, daughter of Liudolf, was his cousin, and Gerberge, daughter of Henry, was his father’s cousin, and both were thirty or forty years older than he.

8. Christian Settapani has suggested several methods by which Otto-William’s maternal grandmother may have been related to women named Gerberge and Mathilda, recognizing that all are tentative identifications, without even real onomastic support; “Les origines maternelles du comte de Bourgogne Otte-Guillaume,” pp. 44–52. See also below, Chapter 8.

9. Thierry Stasser, “Adélaïde d’Anjou, sa famille, ses unions, sa descendance,” p. 21, n. 54.

10. Christian Settipani, *La préhistoire des Capétiens*, p. 381.
11. In fact, they were related even more closely, through the counts of Burgundy; see Constance B. Bouchard, "Eleanor's Divorce from Louis VII" (forthcoming).
12. See also Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir*, p. 219.
13. Settipani, *La préhistoire des Capétiens*, p. 438.
14. On her career see, most recently, Pauline Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*.
15. For Judith see, most recently, Elizabeth Ward, "Caesar's Wife," pp. 205–27.
16. Clarius of Sens, *Chronicon Sancti Petri Vivi Senonensis* 923, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier and Monique Gilles, p. 72.
17. Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* 4.46, MGH SS 13:579. See also Chaume, *Origines de Bourgogne*, pp. 405–6.
18. *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, ed. E. Bougaud and Joseph Garnier, p. 126.
19. Suzanne Fonay Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society*, pp. 97, 122–23.
20. See also Kimberly A. LoPrete, "Adela of Blois," pp. 7–10.
21. Pauline Stafford, *Queens, Concubines, and Dowagers*, pp. 152–56.

Chapter 8: Genealogy and Politics

1. Léon Levillain, "Les Nibelungen historiques et leurs alliances de famille," pp. 387–88; Maurice Chaume, "Les comtes d'Autun des VIII^e et IX^e siècles." For Levillain's retraction of "Bernard the Nibelungen," see his "Les personnages du nom de Bernard," pp. 197–99.
2. MGH Capit. 2:276.
3. MGH Capit. 2:297. *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, roi de France*, ed. Arthur Giry et al., 1:432–34, 527–30, nos. 165, 208. For Hunfrid, see Appendix A.
4. *Annales Bertiniani* 850, ed. Félix Grat et al., p. 59; "Fragmentum Chronici Fontanellensis" 849, MGH SS 2:303.
5. *Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent de Mâcon*, ed. M.-C. Ragut, pp. 42–44, no. 55.
6. Einhard, *Annales* 819, MGH SS 1:205; *Vita Hludowici imperatoris* 32, MGH SS 2:624. Maurice Chaume originally made the Warin of the Auvergne a different person from the Warin who acquired Cluny in 825 but later decided they were the same person; *Origines du duché de Bourgogne*, 1:530–31; "Comtes d'Autun," p. 342, n. 2. This identification is also made by Philippe Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux*, pp. 396–97, no. 273.
7. *Vita Hludowici imperatoris* 51–52, MGH SS 2:637–38; Nithard, *Historia* 1.5, 2.5, ed. Ph. Lauer, pp. 22, 50.
8. *Actes de Charles le Chauve*, 1:261–62, 385–87, nos. 98, 146. See also MGH Capit. 2:253.
9. *The Cartulary of St.-Marcel-lès-Chalon*, ed. Constance Brittain Bouchard, pp. 25–27, no. 4; *Actes de Charles le Chauve*, 1:310–13, no. 117; "Series abbatum Flaviniacensium," MGH SS 8:502; Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon* 1, MGH SS 8:355.
10. Chaume, "Comtes d'Autun," pp. 345–46.
11. *Vita Hludowici imperatoris* 14, 16, MGH SS 2:613, 615. See also Depreux, *Prosopographie*, p. 273, no. 173.

12. MGH DD Karolinorum 1:25, no. 16; Einhard, *Annales* 771, MGH SS 1:149.
13. Walafrid, “Vita Galli” 2.14, MGH SS rerum Merovingicarum 4:322–23; “Annales Sangallenses Maiores” 760, MGH SS 1:74; “Annales Guelferbytani” 774, MGH SS 1:40.
14. Notker the Stammerer, *Gesta Karoli* 2.8, MGH SS 2:752.
15. MGH DD imperii, p. 102, no. 14; MGH DD Karolinorum 1:10, 95, 156, nos. 6, 65, 110.
16. See document no. 13 of St.-Benoît, cited below. The editors dated it, most plausibly, by the reign of King Pippin of Aquitaine, but Chaume dated it by King Pippin the Short.
17. *Actes de Charles le Chauve*, 2:5–7, no. 227; *Recueil des chartes de l’abbaye de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire*, ed. Maurice Prou and Alexandre Vidier, 1:24–30, 36–38, nos. 10–13, 16–17.
18. Dhuoda, *Liber manualis* 8.15, ed. Marcelle Thiébaux, p. 206.
19. Dhuoda, *Liber manualis* 8.15, p. 206; Nithard, *Historia* 3.2, p. 84. See also Chaume, “Comtes d’Autun,” p. 341.
20. *Actes de Charles le Chauve*, 1:430–32, 2:5–7, nos. 164, 227. Chaume erroneously gave Odalric’s date of death as 853; “Comtes d’Autun,” p. 343.
21. *Actes de Charles le Chauve*, 1:527–30, 2:5–7, nos. 208, 227. Chaume tried to make Hunfrid a close relative, probably brother-in-law or son-in-law of Isembard, in the belief that otherwise he would not have “inherited” Autun; “Comtes d’Autun,” p. 347.
22. *Annales Bertiniani* 863, 864, pp. 97, 112–13; *Chronique de l’abbaye de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, ed. E. Bougaud and Joseph Garnier, p. 106.
23. MGH Capit. 2:297.
24. *Annales Bertiniani* 864, 866, pp. 114, 126.
25. *Actes de Charles le Chauve*, 2:146–49, no. 293; *Recueil des chartes de Saint-Benoît*, pp. 57–59, no. 24.
26. *Monumenta Vizeliacensia*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, p. 245, no. 1.
27. “Continuations” of Fredegar 20, 34, MGH SS rerum Merovingicarum 2:177, 182; *The Cartulary of Flavigny*, ed. Constance Brittain Bouchard, pp. 44–45, no. 10. See also Eduard Hlawitschka, “Die Vorfahren Karls des Großen,” 1:78, 80, nos. 30, 40.
28. *Recueil des actes de Pépin I et de Pépin II, rois d’Aquitaine*, ed. Léon Levillain, pp. 105–7, no. 26.
29. *Recueil des chartes de Saint-Benoît*, pp. 23–24, 28–30, nos. 9, 12, 13.
30. Christian Settipani, however, calls the Childebrand who married Dunnana “Childebrand III,” calling him son of Nibelung II; *La préhistoire des Capétiens*, pp. 343–46. This multiplication of men named Childebrand seems unnecessary.
31. *Recueil des actes de Pépin I et de Pépin II*, pp. 166–69, no. 38; *Recueil des chartes de Saint-Benoît*, pp. 49–51, no. 21.
32. *Recueil des chartes de l’abbaye de Cluny*, ed. Auguste Bernard and Alexandre Bruel, 1:208–9, no. 219. This charter was misdated 920 by the editor; it is given in year 23 of the rule of King Charles.
33. *Recueil des chartes de Saint-Benoît*, pp. 57–59, no. 24.
34. *Recueil des chartes de Saint-Benoît*, pp. 59–78, nos. 25–27.
35. Levillain, “Les Nibelungen historiques,” p. 348; *Actes de Charles le Chauve*, 1:38–40, 2:93–95, nos. 16, 263.

36. MGH Capit. 2:359–61, no. 281; *Annales Bertiniani* 878, pp. 229–30; MGH Epp. 7:122, no. 142.

37. *Annales Vedastini* 878, MGH SS 1:517; *Annales Bertiniani* 879, p. 234. Among those confused has been Settipani, *La préhistoire des Capétiens*, pp. 350. He attempts to make Bernard “of Autun” both a brother of Eccard and identical with Bernard Vitellus, son of Raymond of Toulouse.

38. *Recueil des actes de Louis II le Bègue, Louis III et Carloman II, rois de France*, ed. Félix Grat et al., pp. 86–87, no. 29; *Annales Bertiniani* 879, p. 235. For the Bosonids, see above, Chapter 5.

39. *Annales Bertiniani* 882, p. 246; *Recueil des chartes de Saint-Benoît*, pp. 83–85, no. 30.

40. J.-Gabriel Bulliot, *Essai historique sur l'abbaye de Saint-Martin d'Autun*, 2:9–15, no. 5; printed in abbreviated form in GC 4:62, no. 22.

41. *Recueil des actes de Louis II, Louis III et Carloman II*, p. 124, no. 49; *Annales Bertiniani* 882, p. 247.

42. *Recueil des actes du prieuré de Saint-Symphorien d'Autun*, ed. André Déléage, pp. 13–14, no. 3.

43. Levillain, “Les Nibelungen historiques,” pp. 397–98; Emil Kimpen, “Zur Königsgenealogie der Karolinger- bis Stauferzeit,” p. 42. Such an identification was rejected by René Poupardin, *Le royaume de Provence sous les Carolingiens*, pp. 310–14.

44. Janet L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 248–49.

45. *Recueil des actes de Robert Ier et de Raoul, rois de France*, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier and Jean Dufour, pp. 205–7, no. 51; Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon* 1, MGH SS 8:357; *Gesta pontificum Autissiodorensium*, ed. L.-M. Duru, pp. 366–67; Alphonse Roserot, ed., “Chartes inédites,” pp. 183–84, no. 12.

46. *Recueil des actes de Saint-Symphorien*, pp. 19–21, no. 6.

47. *Cartulaire de l'église d'Autun*, ed. A. de Charmasse, 1:42–44, no. 26; Floboard, *Annales* 924, 931, ed. Ph. Lauer, pp. 21, 48.

48. *Chartes de Cluny*, 1:420–21, no. 432; 2:215–16, no. 1124; Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, pp. 263–64.

49. Chaume, *Origines de Bourgogne*, 1:421 n. 1, 454, 537, 549; Georges de Manteyer, “Les origines de la maison de Savoie en Bourgogne,” p. 447; Poupardin, *Le royaume de Provence*, p. 338.

50. Christian Settipani, “Les origines maternelles du comte de Bourgogne Otte-Guillaume,” pp. 48–51.

51. “Annales Nivernenses,” MGH SS 13:89; Clarius of Sens, *Chronicon Sancti Petri Vivi Senonensis*, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier and Monique Gilles, pp. 78–80; Odorannus of Sens, “Chronica,” in *Opera omnia*, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier and Monique Gilles, pp. 94–96; *Chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Étienne de Dijon*, ed. J. Courtois, pp. 58–60, no. 38; Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, p. 307; Settipani, “Les origines d'Otte-Guillaume,” pp. 26–30.

52. Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, pp. 284–86; Linda Seidel, *Legends in Limestone*, pp. 63–78.

53. Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, pp. 307–10; Settipani, “Les origines d'Otte-Guillaume,” pp. 30–44.

54. *Chartes de Cluny*, 1:609–10, no. 655; *Cartulaire de Paray-le-Monial*, ed. Ulysse Chevalier, pp. 2–3, no. 2.

55. H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire des ducs et des comtes de Champagne*, 1:452, no. 20.
56. For Maurice, see also Bernard S. Bachrach, "Geoffrey Grey mantle, Count of the Angevins," pp. 23–24.
57. Perhaps the last person to argue that Adelaide married Geoffrey of Semur is Henry de Chizelle, "Notes complémentaires concernant Aélis."
58. *Cartulaire de Marcigny-sur-Loire*, ed. Jean Richard, p. 1, no. 1; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Savigny*, ed. Auguste Bernard, pp. 268, 369–70, nos. 527, 716.
59. *Cartulaire noir de la cathédrale d'Angers*, ed. Ch. Urseau, pp. 56–58, no. 25; *Chartes de Cluny*, 2:528–29, 755; 3:49–50, 745–46, nos. 1444 bis, 1474, 1794, 2722; *Cartulaire de Paray*, pp. 90–92, nos. 180, 184; *Gesta pontificum Autissiodorensium*, pp. 386–87. See also Settipani, "Les origines d'Otte-Guillaume," pp. 42–44.
60. *Gesta pontificum Autissiodorensium*, p. 387.
61. René Poupardin, *Le royaume de Bourgogne*, pp. 414–19. This identification was, however, still argued by J. Louis Bazin, *Les comtes héréditaires de Chalon-sur-Saône*, pp. 18–20.
62. This was the conclusion of both Ferdinand Lot, *Les derniers Carolingiens*, pp. 323–34, and Poupardin, *Le royaume de Bourgogne*, p. 206, 417.
63. André Duchesne, *Histoire généalogique de la maison de Verdy*, p. 46; Bazin, *Les comtes de Chalon*; Szabolcs de Vajay, "À propos de la 'Guerre de Bourgogne,'" p. 158.
64. Settipani, "Les origines d'Otte-Guillaume," p. 33.
65. Chaume, *Origines de Bourgogne*, 1:447, n. 2.
66. For such an identification, see Yves Sassier, *Recherches sur le pouvoir comtal en Auxerrois*, pp. 24–26; and Jean Richard, "Origines féodales," pp. 112–13. For a discussion of the sources, see Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, pp. 311–12.
67. For these suggestions, see Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, p. 309, n. 120.
68. Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, *L'Auvergne et ses marges*, p. 93. He repeated this improbable identification in his "Autour de la prise de pouvoir par Hughes Capet," p. 107.
69. Settipani, "Les origines d'Otte-Guillaume," pp. 44–49.
70. Adalbero of Laon, *Carmen ad Rotbertum regem*, ed. Claude Carozzi, p. 2. See also Settipani, *La préhistoire des Capétiens*, p. 415.
71. Raoul Glaber, *Historia* 3.2, ed. John France, in *Opera*, p. 106.
72. Helgaud, *Epitoma vite regis Rotberti pii* 2, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier and Gillette Labory, p. 58. See also Settipani, *La préhistoire des Capétiens*, pp. 415–17.
73. Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, pp. 284–86.

Chapter 9: Twelfth-Century Family Structures

1. For the reconstruction of their family tree, see Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, pp. 354–57. They have also been discussed briefly by Yves Sassier, *Recherches sur le pouvoir comtal en Auxerrois*, pp. 104–8.
2. Raoul Glaber, *Historia* 5.1, ed. John France, in *Opera*, p. 226. See also T. N. Bisson, "Nobility and Family in Medieval France," p. 606.
3. *Cartulaire général de l'Yonne*, ed. Maximilien Quantin, 1:373, 422, 488.

4. *Cartulaire général de l'Yonne*, 2:359; *Le premier cartulaire de l'abbaye cistercienne de Pontigny*, ed. Martine Garrigues, p. 210, no. 153; *Gesta pontificum Autissiodorensium*, ed. L.-M. Duru, pp. 451–85. See also Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Spirituality and Administration*, pp. 121–27.

5. Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, pp. 300–307.

6. Richard W. Emery, "The Use of the Surname in the Study of Medieval Economic History"; Robert Sabatino Lopez, "Concerning Surnames and Places of Origin."

7. *Cartulaire général de l'Yonne*, 1:354, 2:131; *Cartulaire de St.-Cyr de Nevers*, ed. René de Lespinasse, pp. 168, 188, nos. 101, 111.

8. *Cartulaire général de l'Yonne*, 2:416. For an east Frankish example of *cognomina* varying even for the same individual, much less for different family members, see John B. Freed, *The Counts of Falkenstein*, pp. 51–57.

9. For parallels, see John B. Freed, *Noble Bondsmen*, pp. 22–23; Dominique Barthélemy, *La société dans le comté de Vendôme*, pp. 629–42; and David Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, pp. 113–14.

10. Waast-Barthélemy Henry, *Mémoires historiques sur la ville de Seignelay*, 1:161.

11. See also Theodore Evergates, "Nobles and Knights in Twelfth-Century France," pp. 12–17.

12. *Cartulaire général de l'Yonne*, 1:337–38; *Le cartulaire de Pontigny*, p. 198, no. 138.

13. *Le cartulaire de Pontigny*, p. 179, no. 110.

14. George Beech, "Prosopography," p. 201; Wilhelm Störmer, *Adelsgruppen im früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Bayern*, p. 182.

15. Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, pp. 372–75, 390; Sassier, *Recherches sur le pouvoir comtal*, pp. 90–101.

16. Georges Duby, however, suggests that Lambert's two grandfathers must have belonged to a single lineage; "The Structure of Kinship and Nobility: Northern France in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *The Chivalrous Society*, pp. 136–40.

17. For English parallels, see Charlotte A. Newman, *The Anglo-Norman Nobility in the Reign of Henry I*, pp. 38–39.

18. George T. Beech, "Les noms de personne poitevins"; Georges Duby, "Lineage, Nobility and Knighthood: The Mâconnais in the Twelfth Century — A Revision," in *The Chivalrous Society*, pp. 60–63.

19. Young Aswalo is found in a charter of his father's from the first years of the century, designated as *puer*, and then disappears from the records; *Cartulaires de l'abbaye de Molesme*, ed. Jacques Laurent, 2:153, no. 1.160.

20. *Liber instrumentorum memorialium*, ed. A. Germain; *Chartes du Bourbonnais*, ed. Jacques Monicat and Bernard de Fournoux. See also Constance Brittain Bouchard, "Strong of Body, Brave and Noble", p. 72.

21. Georges Duby, "The Nobility in Medieval France," in *The Chivalrous Society*, pp. 101–3; Karl Schmid, "Zur Problematik von Familie, Sippe und Geschlecht, Haus und Dynastie beim mittelalterlichen Adel," pp. 15–16.

22. Theodore Evergates, "The Feudal Imaginary of Georges Duby," pp. 648–50; Benjamin Arnold, *Princes and Territories in Medieval Germany*, pp. 135–51.

23. Evergates, "Nobles and Knights," pp. 17–28; Bruno Lemesle, *La société aristocratique dans le Haut-Maine*, pp. 118–20.
24. Duby, "Lineage, Nobility and Knighthood," pp. 67–75.
25. For parallels see Freed, *Noble Bondsmen*, pp. 133–45.
26. Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, pp. 340–51. See also Marjorie Chibnall, "'Clio's Legal Cosmetics'"; and Amy Livingstone, "Kith and Kin."
27. See also Freed, *Noble Bondsmen*, pp. 113–16.
28. Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Holy Entrepreneurs*, p. 82. Régine Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir dans le monde franc*, pp. 351–56.
29. Theodore Evergates, "Aristocratic Women in the County of Champagne," pp. 88–94; Lemesle, *La société aristocratique*, pp. 120–27.
30. See, for example, *Cartulaire de Pontigny*, pp. 190–91, no. 129.
31. Amy Livingstone, "Aristocratic Women in the Chartrain," pp. 50–51.
32. Lois L. Huneycutt, "Female Succession and the Language of Power in the Writings of Twelfth-Century Churchmen," pp. 189–201.
33. Simon Barton, *The Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century León and Castile*, pp. 38–46.
34. For parallels, see Freed, *Noble Bondsmen*, pp. 90–91.
35. Léopold Genicot, "Sur les témoignages d'accroissement de la population en occident," pp. 446–62.
36. Most notably by Robert Fossier, *La terre et les hommes en Picardie*. He has been followed, most recently, by Daniel Pichot, *Le Bas-Maine*, pp. 60–71.
37. *Cartulaire général de l'Yonne*, 2:85, 134–35, 368.
38. *Ibid.*, 1:507, 542; 2:96, 223, 461. For the counts of Nevers, see Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, pp. 340–51.
39. J. C. Russell, *Late Antique and Medieval Population*, p. 12.
40. Stephen D. White, *Custom, Kinship, and Gifts to Saints*, p. 87; Lemesle, *La société aristocratique*, pp. 112–14.
41. Livingstone, "Kith and Kin," pp. 430–32, 443.
42. *Cartulaire général de l'Yonne*, 2:268–69.
43. Ernest Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne de la race capétienne*, 3:307, no. 852.
44. Georges Duby, *La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise*, p. 33; George T. Beech, *A Rural Society in Medieval France*, p. 98; Lemesle, *La société aristocratique*, p. 120; Robert Boutruche, *Seigneurie et féodalité*, 2:39; Eugene Cox, *The Eagles of Savoy*, p. 14.
45. Duby, *La société mâconnaise*, p. 322; Theodore Evergates, *Feudal Society in the Bailliage of Troyes Under the Counts of Champagne*, p. 106. See also Léopold Genicot, "La noblesse au moyen âge dans l'ancienne 'Francie,'" p. 56.
46. Beech, *A Rural Society*, p. 89; William Mendel Newman, *Les seigneurs de Nesle en Picardie*, pp. 16, 106; Jacques Pycke, *Le chapitre cathédral Notre-Dame de Tournai*, pp. 86–92. See, more generally, Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, pp. 65–86.
47. Léopold Genicot, "Haute clergé et noblesse dans le diocèse de Liège," p. 249; Georges Duby, "Les chanoines réguliers et la vie économique," p. 74; William Mendel Newman, *Le personnel de la cathédrale d'Amiens*, p. 6.

48. Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, pp. 59–64; Evergates, “Aristocratic Women in Champagne,” pp. 104–9.

49. Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, p. 50. For a similar pattern in Picardy, see Newman, *Les seigneurs de Nesle*, p. 10; and *Le personnel de la cathédrale d’Amiens*, pp. 45–47.

50. Constance B. Bouchard, “The Geographical, Social, and Ecclesiastical Origins of the Bishops of Auxerre and Sens,” pp. 290–91. For parallels, see Duby, “Les chanoines,” p. 75; Newman, *Les seigneurs de Nesle*, p. 12; and Genicot, “Haute clergé et noblesse,” p. 249.

51. *Obituaires de la province de Sens*, vol. 3, *Diocèses d’Orléans, d’Auxerre, et de Nevers*, ed. Alexandre Vidier and Léon Mirot, p. 261. For William’s reign as bishop, see Bouchard, *Spirituality and Administration*, pp. 121–40.

52. See also Pycke, *Le chapitre de Tournai*, pp. 56–57; Newman, *Les seigneurs de Nesle*, pp. 106–7; and Bouchard, “The Origins of Bishops,” pp. 291–94.

53. *Gesta pontificum Autissiodorensium*, pp. 451–53.

54. *Ibid.*, pp. 458–59, 463–64, 479–80; Honorius III, Letter 4.783, RHGF 19:698–99.

55. *Cartulaire général de l’Yonne*, 2:387–88; *Le cartulaire de Pontigny*, pp. 179, 191, 204, 206–7, nos. 110, 129, 145, 147, 149.

56. Barbara H. Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter*; Livingstone, “Kith and Kin,” pp. 422–23; Constance B. Bouchard, “Community.”

57. White makes a detailed and convincing argument against trying to read unambiguous (if unwritten) “laws” about property ownership out of donation charters; *Custom, Kinship, and Gifts to Saints*.

58. Maximilien Quantin, “Une sentence de Guillaume Ier, comte de Nevers,” pp. 231–34; “De gestibus abbatum S. Germani Autissiodorensis,” ed. Philippe Labbé, p. 578; *Cartulaire général de l’Yonne*, 2:268–69.

59. *Gesta pontificum Autissiodorensium*, p. 424.

60. *Cartulaire général de l’Yonne*, 2:103–4, 358; GC 12:52–53; “Feoda Campanie,” p. 151, no. 3921; H. d’Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire des ducs et des comtes de Champagne*, 5:279–80, 353, nos. 1993, 2405.

Chapter 10: Conclusions

1. Barbara H. Rosenwein and Monique Bourin, “L’an mil en 2000”; Patrick J. Geary, “Monastic Memory and the Mutation of the Year Thousand,” pp. 19–25.

2. Raoul Glaber, *Historia* 3.13, ed. John France, in *Opera*, pp. 114–16. See also Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*.

3. Georges Duby, *La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise*, pp. 133–71; André Debord, *La société laïque dans les pays de la Charente*, pp. 115–24; Noël-Yves Tonnerre, *Naissance de la Bretagne*, p. 311; Daniel Pichot, *Le Bas-Maine*, pp. 131–33.

4. Giovanni Tabacco, “Su nobiltà e cavalleria nel medioevo.”

5. The clearest statement of these changes was given by Jean-Pierre Poly and

Eric Bournazel, *The Feudal Transformation*. For the Peace of God see, most recently, Thomas Head, “The Development of the Peace of God in Aquitaine.”

6. Georges Duby, “The Nobility in Medieval France,” in *The Chivalrous Society*, pp. 101–3.

7. Kimberly A. LoPrete and Theodore Evergates, “Introduction,” in *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*, ed. Theodore Evergates, pp. 1–5.

8. Xavier Barral i Altet, “Le paysage architectural,” pp. 174–76; Gabriel Fournier, *Le château dans la France médiévale*, p. 65.

9. Bernard S. Bachrach, “The Angevin Strategy of Castle Building in the Reign of Fulk Nerra”; Tonnerre, *Naissance de la Bretagne*, p. 317.

10. Georges Duby, *The Three Orders*, pp. 58, 186–87.

11. Pierre Bonnassie, *From Slavery to Feudalism in South-Western Europe*.

12. Elizabeth A. R. Brown, “The Tyranny of a Construct”; Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*.

13. These debates were touched off by T. N. Bisson, “The ‘Feudal Revolution.’” They were continued by Dominique Barthélemy and Stephen White, “Debate,” and by Timothy Reuter, Chris Wickham, and Thomas Bisson, “Debate.”

14. Dominique Barthélemy, *La mutation de l’an mil a-t-elle eu lieu?* Barthélemy has been followed most recently by Bruno Lemesle, *La société dans le Haut-Maine*.

15. Constance B. Bouchard, “Community.” One of the few exceptions is Theodore Evergates, *Feudal Society in the Bailliage of Troyes Under the Counts of Champagne*.

16. Theodore Evergates, “The Feudal Imaginary of Georges Duby,” pp. 648–50.

Appendix A: *The Three Bernards and the Dukes of Aquitaine*

1. *Annales Bertiniani* 868, 872, ed. Félix Grat et al., pp. 151–52, 185–86.

2. *Recueil des actes de Pépin I et de Pépin II*, ed. Léon Levillain, pp. 16–18, no. 5; John VIII, Letter 142, MGH Epp. 7:122.

3. *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, roi de France*, ed. Arthur Giry et al., 2:254–56, no. 339; *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, ed. Cl. Devic and J. Vaissete, 2:329–31, no. 160; *Annales Bertiniani* 863, 864, 865, pp. 97, 112, 117.

4. *Histoire de Languedoc*, 2:376–78, no. 186; *Annales Bertiniani* 872, p. 188.

5. *Annales Bertiniani* 877, 880, pp. 216, 243.

6. *Annales Bertiniani* 878, 879, pp. 229, 234; *Annales Vedastini* 878, MGH SS 1:517.

7. Léonce Auzias, “Bernard ‘Le Veau’ et Bernard ‘Plantevelue,’ comtes de Toulouse (?).”

8. Maurice Chaume, *Les origines du duché de Bourgogne*, 1:531, 547; Léon Levillain, “De quelques personnages nommés Bernard dans les *Annales* d’Hincmar” and “Les personnages du nom de Bernard”; J. Dhondt, *Études sur la naissance des principautés territoriales en France*, pp. 293–313; Joseph Calmette, “Les comtes Bernard sous Charles le Chauve”; Janet L. Nelson, *The Annals of St-Bertin*, p. 151 n. 21, p. 179 n. 14, p. 221 n. 9.

9. Pierre Riché came up with eleven (!) different Bernards all alive at about the same time; *Les Carolingiens*, p. 191.

10. Philippe Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux*, pp. 225–26, no. 129.

11. *Vita Hludowici imperatoris* 5, MGH SS 2:609; *Cartulaires des abbayes d'Aniane et de Gellone*, ed. Paul Alaus et al., 1:144–46, 209, nos. 140, 249.

12. I have done so myself; “Family Structure and Family Consciousness Among the Aristocracy,” pp. 654–55.

13. *Histoire de Languedoc*, 2:65–68, no. 16.

14. The testament is edited by Alain Stoclet, *Autour de Fulrad de Saint-Denis*, pp. 469–71. Stoclet, however, resists any effort to identify Theoderic and Heribert with other men of these names in other sources; *ibid.*, pp. 99–102.

15. Einhard, *Annales* 782, 791, 793, MGH SS 1:163, 177, 179. Léon Levillain identifies the envoy Theoderic not as William of Gellone’s father but as a younger brother, even though his initial appearance in the records well before William’s first appearance certainly suggests that had William had a brother by that name he would have been older, not younger; Levillain, “Les Nibelungen historiques et leurs alliances de famille,” pp. 5–6.

16. Dhuoda, *Liber manualis* 8.15, ed. Marcelle Thiébaux, p. 206; *Recueil des actes de Charles le Chauve*, 2:5–7, no. 227; *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire*, ed. Maurice Prou and Alexandre Vidier, pp. 24–30, 36–37, nos. 10–13, 16. M. A. Claussen argues that the “lord” to whom Theoderic left his goods was not Bernard of Aquitaine but rather God; “Fathers of Power and Mothers of Authority,” pp. 807–8. This seems unlikely, however, as Dhuoda says he did so in order that Bernard’s son William might benefit from these goods.

17. Ardo, *Vita Benedicti abbatis Anianensis et Indensis* 30, MGH SS 15:213 and n. 2.

18. She was a nun according to the *Annales Bertiniani* and, it has been suggested, may have been abbess of Ste.-Croix of Poitiers; Roger Collins, “Pippin I and the Kingdom of Aquitaine,” p. 375.

19. Dhuoda, *Liber manualis* 10.5, p. 226; *Vita Hludowici imperatoris* 45, 52, MGH SS 2:633, 639; *Annales Bertiniani* 830, 834, pp. 2, 14; Nithard, *Historia* 1.5, pp. 20–22. See also Joachim Wollasch, “Eine adlige Familie des frühen Mittelalters,” pp. 20–22.

20. Lorenz Weinrich, *Wala, Graf, Mönch und Rebell*, p. 18; Christian Settipani, *La préhistoire des Capétiens*, p. 357; Paschasius Radbertus, *Epitaphium Arsenii, seu Vita Venerabilis Walae* 2.7–8, MGH SS 2:551–52.

21. For this *vita* see, most recently, David Ganz, “The *Epitaphium Arsenii* and Opposition to Louis the Pious,” pp. 537–50.

22. A similar shift has been noted in ninth-century Saxony, from constructing names out of elements taken from a broad kindred to giving sons the names of close relatives; Reinhard Wenskus, *Sächsischer Stammesadel und fränkischer Reichsadel*, pp. 41–65.

23. Thegan, “*Vita Hludowici imperatoris*” 36, MGH SS 2:597.

24. “*Continuationes Fredegarii*” 25, MGH SS *rerum Merovingicarum* 2:180; “*Vita Chrodegangi episcopi Mettensis*” 6–7, MGH SS 10:556.

25. Eduard Hlawitschka, “Die Vorfahren Karls des Grossen,” 1:76–78, no. 26; Paul the Deacon, *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium*, MGH SS 2:267.

26. Heinrich Beyer, ed., *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der mittelhheinischen Territorien*, 1:10–11, no. 8.

27. Cited by Pierre Riché, “Les bibliothèques de trois aristocrates laïcs carolingiens,” p. 90, n. 15.

28. *Annales Fuldensis* 844, MGH SS 1:364. For his execution, see also Jane Martindale, “Charles the Bald and the Government of the Kingdom of Aquitaine,” pp. 119–20.

29. *Vita Hludowici imperatoris* 41, MGH SS 2:630; Dhuoda, *Liber manualis* preface, p. 84; *Annales Bertiniani* 864, p. 113.

30. For example, Levillain, “Les Nibelungen historiques,” pp. 7–11; and André Debord, *La société laïque dans les pays de la Charente*, p. 62.

31. Ademar of Chabannes, *Chronicon* 3.20, ed. Jules Chavanon, p. 138. For Ademar, see also John Gillingham, “Ademar of Chabannes and the History of Aquitaine in the Reign of Charles the Bald,” pp. 41–51.

32. *Cartulaire de Brioude*, ed. Henry Doniol, pp. 146–47, no. 131; MGH DD regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinorum 2:311, no. 186. The editor calls the latter charter false, because it involves a gift to the church of Nevers and Bernard and William were never counts of Nevers, but in fact the property given was in the diocese of Autun.

33. *Cartulaire de Brioude*, pp. 112–13, 146–47, 184–85, nos. 95, 131, 172.

34. *Vita Hludowici imperatoris* 49, 52, MGH SS 2:637–38; Nithard, *Historia* 1.5, p. 22; Janet L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 111–13. For his career, see also Depreux, *Prosopographie*, pp. 396–97, no. 273.

35. *Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent de Mâcon*, ed. M.-C. Ragut, pp. 40, 42–44, nos. 52, 55; *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, ed. Auguste Bernard and Alexandre Bruel, 1:61–63, no. 53.

36. *Vita Hludowici imperatoris* 32, MGH SS 2:624; “Chronicon Aquitanicum,” MGH SS 2:253.

37. “Series abbatum Flaviniacensium,” MGH SS 8:502; *Recueil des actes de Charles le Chauve*, 1:310–13, no. 117; *Cartulaire de Brioude*, pp. 97–99, no. 77. Scholars usually attribute this latter charter not to Bernard of Aquitaine but to the hypothetical Bernard I of Auvergne.

38. *Cartulaire de Brioude*, pp. 52–53, 77–78, 119–20, 167–68, 195–96, 313–15, nos. 29, 56, 102, 152, 184, 309.

39. *Chartes de Cluny*, 1:434–36, 438–40, 537–38, nos. 446, 449, 554.

40. Christian Settipani suggests rather that Geoffrey’s wife Ava was daughter of William the Pious’s sister Ava; “Les comtes d’Anjou et leurs alliances,” p. 247.

41. *Chartes de Cluny*, 1:282–87, no. 286.

Appendix B: Manasses

1. It is represented by dots in the modern edition; “Series abbatum Flaviniacensium,” MGH SS 8:502.

2. André Duchesne, *Histoire généalogique de la maison de Verdy*, preuves p. 17; Eugène Jarry, *Formation territoriale de la Bourgogne*, Table 1.

3. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Collection Baluze 57, fol. 210r. This manuscript's importance was first noted by Eduard Hlawitschka, *Lotharingien und das Reich an der Schwelle der deutschen Geschichte*, p. 242 n. 4.

4. Maurice Chaume, *Les origines du duché de Bourgogne*, 1:266 n. 2.

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